

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Post-Graduate and Research Department Series No. 10

VEDA-PADAPĀTHA CARCĀ

(वेदपदपाठचर्चा)

by

K. V. Abhyankar

Honorary Professor of Sanskrit,

B. O. R. I., Poona,

together with the text of the

UPALEKHASŪTRAM

(उपलेखसूत्रम्)

OF

BHĀRADVĀJA-BRHASPATI

edited by him with explanation in English

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

Poona 411004

1974

	P.	L.
24 Break in compound expressions. ...	11	17
25 Single break and two or more breaks. ...	11	26
26 Definition of the term pratyaya (affix). ...	12	3
27 Four kinds of affixes. ...	12	9
28 Use of words in a sentence. ...	13	1

Section III

Dissertation on Avagraha or Pause

29 Definition of avagraha or pause. ...	13	16
30 Primary conditions for a pause. ...	14	1
31 Only one pause in the dissolution of a vṛtti. ...	14	9
32 No pause in the dissolution of krdvṛtti. ...	14	19
33 Pause before the kṛt affix अच्. ...	14	27
34 Pause in the dissolution of the taddhita- vṛtti. ...	15	7
35 Pause in the dissolution of compounded words. ...	15	18
36 No pause in negative compounds. ...	15	30
37 No pause in devatādvandva compounds. ...	16	1९
38 No pause in dvandva compounds conveying a group-sense. ...	16	2
39 Pause before a case-affix. ...		
40 No pause in some specific compounds. ...		
41 No dissolution and no pause in Ekaśeṣa. ...		
42 Pause in words derived from secondary roots. ...	18	
43 Pause in Dvirvacanavṛtti. ...	19	
44 Pause in Angavādbhāvavṛtti. ...	20	
45 Pause in compounds with verbs. ...	20	

Section IV

Dissertation on Accents

46 Four kinds of accents. ...	20
47 Retention of the Saṁhita accents in the Pada-recital. ...	22

	P.	L.
48 One acute accent in one pada as also in one vṛtti. ...	22	17
49 Special cases of two acute accents in one vṛtti or compounded word. ...	22	23
50 Retention of accents in the case of words which are wholly unaccented in the Saṁhitā recital. ...	23	6
51 Accent of vowels preceding the udātta accent in the dissolution of a compound-word. ...	23	13
52 Accent of vowels succeeding the udātta in the dissolution of a compound word. ...	23	20

Section V

Dissertation on Coalescence

53 Four kinds of coalescence. ...	24	4
54 Coalescence by eliding a letter (Lopasandhi). ...	24	13
55 Coalescence by doubling a consonant. ...	24	23
56 Coalescence by substituting one vowel for two. ...	25	5
57 Coalescence of consonants by substituting one consonant for another. ...	25	10
58 Coalescence by mutilation of a letter. ...	25	14

Section VI

Restoration to the original

59 Restoration of ष and ण to स and न्. ...	25	20
60 Change of ष into स in the reduplicated syllable of a root. ...	26	3
61 Retention of the same form in the case of nouns ending in न्. ...	24	18
62 Restoration of the consonant ष in the Padapāṭha in the case of the forms दाक्षि, दक्षु etc. of the root दक्ष used in the Saṁhitā text. ...	27	4
63 Restoration of vowels lengthened in the Saṁhitā for metrical purposes to their original form. ...	27	15

Section VII

Peculiar features of the Padapāṭha

	P.	L.
64 Definition of the terms 'samaya' and 'gālatpada'.	... 28	13
65 Anānupūrvyasamhitā.	... 29	9
66 Vestana or enclosure by the word इति.	... 30	19
67 Enclosure of prepositions in the Taittirīyaśākhā.	... 31	1

Section VIII

Vocal recital of the Veda Texts

68 Definition of Samhitā.	... 31	8
69 Full stop.	... 32	1
70 Small stops in the middle.	... 32	1
71 Elongated utterance of the svarita vowel.	... 32	16
72 Utternance of the anunāsika letter.	... 33	4
73 Compound with the indeclinable इव.	... 33	9
74 ऌ and ड substitutes.	... 32	24
75 Dissolution shown by avagraha without vestana.	... 34	4
76 Avagraha with vestana in pragrhya compounds.	... 34	13
77 Utterance of ज्ञ for ज्ञ and that of खू for घू.	... 34	22
78 Utterance of ण for न्.	... 35	3
79 नराशंस and other words taken in the Padapāṭha as they are in the traditional recital.	... 35	13
80 Application of the conventions regarding Padapāṭha to Krama and other subsequent developments.	... 37	1

उपलेखसूत्रम्

	Pages
Section I (special technical terms)	... 47-51
Section II (Krama of 3 and 4 words)	... 51-57
Section III (Verses with 1 or 2 or 3 feet)	... 57-60
Section IV (words to be enclosed with इति)	... 60-66
Section V (enclosure of words beginning with lingual consonan to)	... 66-68
Section VI (enclosure of words like पुर धुर etc.)	... 68-70
Section VII (coalescence with the following इति)	... 70-74
Section VIII (coalescence with the preceding इति)	... 74-82

PREFACE

Vedic scholars have suggested different interpretations of several Vedic passages, the words and phrases in which have become obscure and difficult to understand over a long period of time. They seem to have applied different criteria for their interpretations, such as, etymology, comparative philology, vocabulary, metrics, semantics, and the like. The present essay on *Vedapadapāṭhacaricā*, with an edition of the *Upalekhasātra*, will show that an additional text in this connection can be derived from a study of the Vedic Padapāṭha.

In spite of the fact that the Padapāṭhas were prepared by eminent grammarians like Śaunaka, Ātreya, and others, their correctness is challenged by Patañjali who has made the carping remark that Grammar is not to follow the Padapāṭha but that the Padapāṭha must follow Grammar. This remark, ringing in my ears for a pretty long time, provoked me to find out and arrange under different heads the irregularities in the Padapāṭha of the type pointed out by Patañjali as also those of other types. My study of Grammar from the *Siddhanta-Kaumudī* to the *Pātañjala-Mahabhāṣya* according to the traditional method, along with a general study of some Vedic hymns and the four available Prātiśākhya works, gave an impetus to my desire for undertaking a work involving a scrutiny of the Vedapadapāṭha required for the purpose.

There is no systematic work on the Padapāṭha available at present. The Prātiśākhyas have only mentioned here and there the apparent irregularities in the Vedic texts without trying to see why and how they have occurred. The authors of the

Padapāthas were sound grammarians, and possibly there could be no mistakes as such in their work of splitting the Vedic texts into their constituent *Padas*. What needs to be done, therefore, is to find out and examine such theories and conventions in the ancient grammatical works as may confirm the correctness of the apparently irregular words and phrases in the Padapāṭha.

An attempt is made in this small monograph to arrange and explain the apparent irregularities under different heads. A critical study of the Padapāṭha is bound to prove helpful in the exegesis of the Saṁhitā text of the Veda.

Āṣāḍha Śukla II }
 Śaka 1896 }
 June 30, 1974 }

K. V. Abhyankar

Veda-Padapāṭha-Carcā

The Pada-recital of the Veda texts, prepared by Śaunaka, Ātreya and others long before the time of Yāska and Pāṇini, shows quite a large number of apparent irregularities if it is strictly tested by applying the rules of Pāṇini's grammar to it. Patañjali, the balanced brilliant commentator on Pāṇini's rules of grammar, has even gone to the length of stating that the Padakāras ought to have followed strictly the rules of grammar and accordingly the Padapāṭha has to be corrected at places where it has gone against the rules of grammar. He has stated three cases¹ where, according to him, the Padapāṭha has to be corrected. Patañjali's statement is, in a way, an instance of historical anachronism if it refers to Pāṇini's grammar, as the Padapāṭhas were composed long before the grammar of Pāṇini. The statement should only be understood as a compliment to Pāṇini's grammar for its perfection of treatment. From the way in which the Saṁhitā text has been split up into its constituent *padas* and the *padas* into their constituent parts, it is obvious that there were authoritative grammar treatises before the time of Pāṇini, which the Padakāras must have followed. An attempt is made here to sum up briefly a few grammatical regulations and conventions existing at the time, of the Pada-pāṭha especially those about the meaning of the word *pada*, as also about the splitting of *padas* into their component parts.

¹ Cf. अज्ञेश्वोपसंख्यानं संज्ञायाम् । आज्यम् । ... आङ्पूर्वस्थैव प्रयोगो भविष्यति यद्येवमवग्रहः प्राप्नोति । न लक्षणेन पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः । पदकारैर्नाम लक्षणमनुवर्त्यम् । यथालक्षणं पदं कर्तव्यम् ॥ *Mahābhāṣya* (III. 1. 109, V. 2). Cf. also आशिते कर्तरि निपातनमुपधादीर्घत्वमाद्युदात्तत्वं च । ... आङ्पूर्वस्य प्रयोगः । यद्येवमवग्रहः प्राप्नोति । न लक्षणेन ... कर्तव्यम् (*Mahābhāṣya* VI. 1. 207 ; V. 1). Cf. also अवग्रहेपि न लक्षणेन कर्तव्यम् (*Mahābhāṣya* VIII. 2. 16, V. 5). The author of the *Mahābhāṣya* means to say briefly that in the Padapāṭha आज्य should be recited as आऽअज्य, आशित as आऽअशित, and अक्षण्वन्तः as अक्षऽण्वन्तः .

Section I

(Dissertation on *Pada*)

प्रथमः खण्डः (पदचर्चा)

१. अर्थः पदम् ।

This is quoted as a sūtra from the *Aindra* Grammar by commentators.¹ It occurs as a sūtra defining the term *pada* in the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* (III. 2). The definition of the term *pada* as a wording capable of possessing an independent sense, is practically a backbone of the grammar of the *Padakāras*, showing a way to explain and remove the so-called grammatical irregularities of the *Padakāras*. The sūtra means that a word, as also its part, is called a *pada*, if it possesses a sense which is distinctly conveyed by it. Accordingly, a compound word, possessing a compound sense is a *pada*. So also, the members of a compound word are separate *padas* carrying their independent senses. Similarly, Taddhita words are *padas* and the Taddhita affixes therein, are also *padas*, provided they are distinctly noticed as units separate from their bases. Case-affixes also are separate *padas* if they can be noticed as distinctly separate from their base.²

२. चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च* ।

The four kinds of *padas*, given by ancient grammarians are : nouns, verbs, prepositions and indeclinables. In the system of Pāṇini there are only two parts of speech : *Subanta*

¹ Cf. अर्थः पदमिति ऐन्द्रे (भाष्य of उपमन्यु on नन्दिकेश्वरकाशिका).

² Cf. सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् । नः क्ये । सिति च । स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने । यच्च भम् । तसौ मत्वर्थे । अयस्मयादीनि च्छन्दसि (P. I. 4. 14-20). Words ending in case-affixes and conjugational affixes are designated *padas*; so also bases ending in न् before क्यच् and क्यङ् affixes as also before affixes marked with the mute letter स् and before case affixes excepting the Nom. sing. affix स् and affixes beginning with a vowel or the consonant य्. As the Taddhita affixes are applied to nouns ending in case affixes, naturally those nouns are called *pada* before an affix not beginning with any vowel or consonant य्. The purpose of the designation पद to noun-bases is to observe a pause after them in the *Padapāṭha*.

* Cf. तच्चान्येतानि चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च तानीमानि भवन्ति (*Nir.* I. 1)-

and *Tiṅanta*.¹ Prepositions and indeclinables are included in the *Subanta* category.

३. तानि द्विविधानि केवलानि समस्तानि च ।

Each of these categories is again two-fold : Single and Compounded. Single words are अग्निम्, ईळे, इह, अत्र, प्र, परा and the like. The word समस्त means connected together and having one acute accent.

४. तन्नाम येनाभिदधाति सत्त्वम् ।

Noun is that which denotes an object, which has come into existence. Yāska has defined the word नामन् or noun in a similar way in the expression सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि.² The words अग्निम्, यज्ञस्य, देवम् and others are nouns. Nouns include pronouns. The word noun stands for all declinables.

५. तदाख्यातं येन भावं स घातुः ।

The words आख्यात and घातु are both defined here. That is a verb which shows an activity. Yāska has given the same idea in भावप्रधानमाख्यातम्.³ Patañjali has given भाव, भावना and क्रिय as synonyms. With the words सः and घातुः at the end, the line तन्नाम येनाभिदधाति सत्त्वं तदाख्यातं येन भावं स घातुः is given as a quotation from some ancient work on grammar by commentators. The word आख्यात means a verb like भवति, अस्ति, वर्धते and the like, while the word घातु means a root like भू, अस्, वृष् and the like. In ancient dictionaries like the Nighanṭu, lists of verbs such as वर्तते, अयते, आनशे, अश्रुते and others are given and not those of roots like वृत्, अय्, अश्र् and others. The words स घातुः stand for स भाव एव घातुः meaning that the activity itself, i. e. the exponent of the activity, is the *dhātu* or the root.

६. क्रियाविशेषवाचिन उपसर्गाः ।

Words showing the specific features of the activity expressed by a root are given the name उपसर्ग or preposition.³

¹ As *upasargas* and *nīpātas* are designated प्रातिपदिक by the rule अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् (P. I. 2. 45), suitable case affixes are applied to them, and when they end with case-affixes they are called सुबन्पद.

² Cf. तत्रैवं नामाख्यातयोर्लक्षणं प्रदिशन्ति-भावप्रधानमाख्यातम्, सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि (*Nir.* L. 1).

³ Cf. उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे (P. I. 4. 59).

These prepositions generally precede immediately the verb or the noun derived from a root, qualifying the activity expressed by them; but in Vedic usage, they are sometimes seen in the same sentence, but intervened by one or more words. If they immediately precede a verb which has retained its accents they form a compound with the verb.

७. उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्तः पदान्तरसंबद्धत्वेनार्थ- प्रतिपादका निपाताः ।

Nipātas have various senses, but, they are shown by those *nipātas* when they are used along with other words such as nouns or verbs in a sentence. Some of them are sometimes used without any specific sense when they are called *padapūranas* or expletives.¹ Both prepositions and *nipātas* have got no case-affix or feminine affix applied to them and hence, they are not declinable. In Pānini's grammar, however, case-affixes as also feminine affixes are applied to them, but they are deleted. By virtue of the application of case affixes they are included in the *Subanta* category.²

८. विभक्तिस्त्रीकरणप्रत्ययान्तानां पदानां प्रत्ययरहित्येन प्रतिपदं दृश्यमानं रूपं प्रातिपदिकम् ।

Prātipadika or noun-base is that word which is noticed in all the different forms of that word prepared by the addition of the several *vbhakti* affixes as also by the feminine affix, when and if applied. For example, see the words इन्द्र, अग्नि, देव, हरि, अश्व etc.

९. आख्यातकरणप्रत्ययरहितं मूलस्वरूपं धातुः ।

धातु or root is the original form of the several verb and verbal derivatives which is noticed as common after the removal of the conjugational, verb-making and noun-making affixes applied for the formation of verbs, secondary roots and verbal derivatives. See for example भू and गम् appearing common in भवति, अभूत्, भावयति, बुभूषति, भूतिः, etc. and in गच्छति अगमत्, गन्तुम्, जिगमिषति, गमनम्, जग्मिवाद् etc. respectively.

¹ Cf. अथ निपाताः (उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्ति । अप्युषमार्यै । अपि कर्मोपसंग्रहायै अपि पदपूरणाः (Nr. I. 4).

² See note 1 on p. 2.

१०. नान्तानि नामानि, अस्थ्यादीनि
पाददन्तादीनि च द्विप्रकृतीनि ।

Nouns ending in न्, nouns अस्थि, दधि and others, as also पाद, दन्त and others have got two noun-bases,¹ for example आत्मन्, राजन् etc. have आत्म, राज etc. as additional noun bases. Similarly, अस्थि has अस्थन्, दधि has दधन्, पाद has पद्, दन्त has got दत् and so on.

११. अस्तियजादिधातवोपि तथैव ।

Roots अस्, यज् and others are also possessed of two root-bases. For example the root अस् has got स् as an additional root-base which is noticed in स्तः, सन्ति and other forms of that kind.² So also यज् is the root in यजति, यज्ञ, यजमान, यहुं and the like, while हृज् as an additional root-base is noticed in हृजे, हृज्या, हृष्टिः, ऋत्विक् etc.³

Section II

(Dissertation on *Vṛtti*)

द्वितीयः खण्डः (वृत्तिचर्चा)

१२. परार्थाभिधानं वृत्तिः ।

Compact expression or *vṛtti* is the denotation of a sense which is somewhat different from the literal sense of the component words. Brevity of speech is the purpose of such a brief expression.

१३. कृतद्धितसमासैकशेषप्रत्ययान्तधातुद्विर्वचनाङ्गवद्भावाख्यात-
समासरूपास्ता अष्ट ।

There are eight kinds of *vṛttis* or short expressions : *kṛt* or verbal derivatives, *taddhita* or noun-derivatives, compound-

¹ Cf. तद्यत्र स्वरादनन्तरान्तस्थान्तर्धातु भवति तद् द्विप्रकृतीनीं स्थानमिति प्रादिशन्ति । तत्र सिद्धायामनुपपद्यमानायामितरयोपपिपादयिषेत् । तत्राप्येके अल्पनिष्पत्तयो भवन्ति । तद्यथैतत् - ऊतिः, सृष्टुः, पृष्टुः, पृषतः, कुणारुम् इति । (*Nir.* II. 2).

² Cf. अथाप्यस्तेनिवृत्तिस्थानेषु आदिलोपो भवति । स्तः सन्तीति । (*Nir.* II. 1).

³ See note 1 above.

⁴ Cf. परार्थाभिधानं वृत्तिः । कृतद्धितसमासैकशेषसनाद्यन्तधातुरूपाः पञ्च वृत्तयः । वृत्त्यर्थवबोधकं वाक्यं-विग्रहः । (*Siddhāntakaumudī* at the end of the *Ekaśeṣa prakaraṇa*).

ed words, remnant of a compounded word, affix-ending roots, doubled words, compound with a verb, and lastly linking up of a word with another. The first five of these are mentioned by Bhaṭṭojī Dīksita. The word *सनाद्यन्तधातु*¹ is used by Bhaṭṭojī instead of *प्रत्ययान्तधातु*.¹ *द्विवचन*, *अङ्गवद्भावा* and *अख्यातसमास* have got the same features as the generally mentioned five *vṛttis* have, and hence, they can be looked upon as *vṛttis*.

१४. धातोर्नामकरणयोगे कृद्वृत्तिः ।

Kṛdvṛtti is the formation of a noun or indeclinable from a root by the application of an affix. The affix applied, is called *नामकरण* as it is joined to a root to form a noun from it. In Pāṇini's grammar, the name *कृत्* (maker of a noun) is given to the affixes like *अ*, *त्ति*, *अन्*, *तुम्* etc. Ancient grammarians gave the name *कृत्* to the words formed from roots such as the word *kṛt* itself, which means a maker (*करोतीति कृत्*). The framers of the *Padapāṭha* do not show the component parts of *kṛt* words separately by a pause or *avagraha*, possibly because the root or *dhātu* therein could not be shown as possessing a fixed form. Only in the case of perfect participle, a pause is observed between the reduplicated form of a root and the affix *वस्*.

१५. नाम्नो नामकरणयोगे तद्धितवृत्तिः ।

तद्धितवृत्ति is the formation of a noun from another noun in some specific senses such as beneficial to (*हित*), offspring, possessed of, student of, born in, nature of, and a number of similar ones by applying a stated or specific affix. This affix, if beginning with a consonant except *य्*, is detachable from the base in the *Padapāṭha*. In some cases a *taddhita* affix like *त्त*, *तम* etc. is applied to a word which itself is formed with a *taddhita* affix. Such *taddhita* words are termed *taddhita* words with two joints (*द्विपर्वाणस्तद्धिताः*).²

¹ See note 4 on p. 5.

² Cf. एवं तद्धितसमासेष्वेकपर्वसु चानेकपर्वसु च पूर्वं पूर्वमपरमपरं प्रविभज्य निर्वायत् (*Nir.* II. 2).

१६. पदयोरेकार्थिभावेन संहितत्वं समासः ।

समास or compound is the combination of two words in a joint sense.¹ These compounds have four subdivisions with prominence of sense as criterion.² The compound called अव्ययी-मात्र has the first word predominant e. g. यथापूर्वम्; the compound called तत्पुरुष has the sense of the second member as predominant. It has got three main subdivisions कर्मधारय, द्विगु and विभक्तितत्पुरुष, the last having subdivisions such as द्वितीयातत्पुरुष, तृतीयातत्पुरुष and so on. Tatpuruṣa compounds with a verbal derivative as the second member, are in general called कृदन्त-तत्पुरुष with three subdivisions: गतितत्पुरुष, कारकतत्पुरुष and उपपद-तत्पुरुष.³ In a Tatpuruṣa compound the accent is on the final vowel as a general rule.⁴ In the Kṛdanta Tatpuruṣa, the second syllable retains its accent.⁵ In the Nañ-Tatpuruṣa, the accent remains on the vowel *a* or *an* which is substituted for *na*.⁶ In some cases the accent remains on the first syllable when it has got special importance which has to be shown by an emphasis upon it. In rare cases of words such as वनस्पति, बृहस्पति and others, both the words retain their accent.⁷ The compound द्वन्द्व has the sense of both words as predominant. There are Dvandva compounds of two words in Vedic Literature where the accent is found generally on the last syllable. In the Devatā dvandva compounds, both the words retain their accent.⁸ The Bahuvrīhi compound has the sense of both the words subordinated to the sense of a third word connected in sense by the relation of possession with the two or more members of the

¹ For details see *Mahābhāṣya* II. 1. 1, Vārt. 1.

² For details see *Mahābhāṣya* II. 1. 6.

³ For details see कुगतिप्रादयः and उपपदमतिङ् (P. II. 2. 18, 19) and the *Mahābhāṣya* thereon.

⁴ See समासस्य (P. VI. 1. 223).

⁵ See गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत् (P. VI. 2. 139).

⁶ See तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः (P. VI. 2. 2) and the Vārttika अव्यये नञ्कुनिपातानाम् thereon (P. VI. 2. 2, Vārt. 3).

⁷ See उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् (P. VI. 2. 140).

⁸ See देवताद्वन्द्वे च (VI. 2. 141).

compound. The accent falls on the first member except in cases where the second member has some special importance of its sense.¹

१७. समस्तपदयोरेकस्यैव प्रयोग एकशेषः ।

When the sense of a Dvandva compound of two words in the dual number is possible to be known by the use of one of the two words on the strength of the dual number of the affix placed after it, one of the two words is dropped and the remaining word in the dual number is termed as Ekaśeṣa.² The origin of this Ekaśeṣa vṛtti can be traced to the Vedic Dvandva compounds of two words such as द्यावाभूमि, द्यावापृथिवी, द्यावाक्षामा where, on occasions, one of the two words is seen used to denote the sense of both the words, e. g. द्यावा in *Rigveda* I. 61.10, 64.1, 113.9 etc. पृथिवी in I. 63.1, 141.1, पितरा in I.20.4, 110.8, 159.2 etc., पितरौ in 121.5, 161.10, X. 85.14 etc. The question as to how one single word could denote the sense of two words was technically solved by the theory of each one of the two words in a Dvandva compound, closely related in sense being capable of denoting the sense of both, advocated by the Vārttikakāra on the sūtras of Pāṇini, under the name युगपदधिकरणवचनता.³

१८. प्रत्यययोगेन घातोः पुनर्धात्वापादनं, नाम्नो वा धात्वापादनं प्रत्ययान्तधातुवृत्तिः ।

The formation of a root from a noun or from a root by the application of an affix is called प्रत्ययान्तधातुवृत्ति. The sense of a noun and a root, or the sense of two roots is conveyed by this secondary root which ends with an affix. Several kinds of such roots by the application of different affixes such as भिच्, क्यच्, चङ् and others, are given by Pāṇini,⁴ almost all of which are found in Vedic Literature.

¹ See बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् (P. VI. 2.1) as also Sūtras VI. 2. 106-119.

² For details see Pāṇini's sūtras, I. 2, 64 to 73.

³ The theory of युगपदधिकरणवचनता propounded by the Vārttikakāra is examined in detail by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* and finally disapproved in the words "इयं युगपदधिकरणवचनता नाम दुःखा च दुरुपादा च । For details see *Mahābhāṣya* on II. 2. 29 Vārttikas 2 to 15.

⁴ See Pāṇini sūtras III. 1. 7 to 28.

१९. नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातानामव्यवधानेन
द्विरुच्चारणं द्विर्वचनवृत्तिः ।

The repetition of the same word to convey some specific sense such as frequency, repetition and the like, is termed द्विर्वचनवृत्तिः. Grammarians like Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita have stated only five of the above mentioned eight *vṛttis*, viz. Kṛt, Taddhita, Samāsa, Ekaśeṣa and Pratyayāntadhātu;¹ still, as the repetition of a word has the same main features as a *vṛtti* viz. possession of one combined sense and one acute accent, repetition of a word can also be called *vṛtti*. The Padakāras show the two components of the Dvirvacana-vṛtti by the sign of *avagraha* between them; and in the recital, they are shown separately by a short pause between them.²

२०. नाम्नो नामान्तरेण दृढसंबद्ध्यर्थत्वमङ्गवद्भाववृत्तिः ।

The use of a noun in the vocative case with another noun closely connected in sense with it, used immediately before it or after it, with one acute accent in both the words together, is named अङ्गवद्भाववृत्तिः. This compact expression is said to be of two kinds :—पूर्वाङ्गवद्भाव and पराङ्गवद्भाव. The Padakāras recite both the words as distinct words but very closely connected, and do not observe a short pause or *avagraha* between them.³

२१. नाम्न आख्यातेन सह समास आख्यातसमासवृत्तिः ।

Nouns are compounded with nouns which are verbal derivatives, but they are never compounded with verbs. When,

¹ See note 4 on p. 5.

² Cf. अग्निम्अग्निम् (RV. I. 12. 2), दिवेऽदिवे (RV. I. 1. 3, 7), अङ्गात्स अङ्गात् (RV. X. 163. 6) and good many others.

³ For details see *Mahābhāṣya* on सुवामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत् स्वरे (P. II. 1. 2.) and परमपि च्छन्दसि (II. 1. 2, Vārt. 6). For instances see ब्रह्मणस्पते (Padapāṭha ब्रह्मणः । पते) ; पुत्र सहसः Padapāṭha (पुत्र । सहसः) and the like.

however, a prefix or a noun closely connected with a verb forms a composite expression with it, conveying a composite sense, the noun or the prefix and the verb together, are called नामाभ्यतवृत्ति. The Padakāras appear to have looked upon this use of the noun and verb together, as forming a kind of compound, and they recite these words in the *pada* recital with a short pause or *avagraha* between the two Pāṇini's rules, if strictly followed, prohibit any compound with a verbal form.¹ The Padakāras, however, appear to have recognised such a compound as indicated by the use of *avagraha* between a preposition and the verb following it, which retains its accent. Patañjali has given his approval for compounds with verbs.²

२२. वृत्त्यर्थावबोधकानां पदानां पृथगवस्थानं विग्रहः ।

Vigraha or dissolution of a *vṛtti* or compact expression is the distinct mention of its constituent parts by the removal of the euphonic combinations or changes which have taken place in the Sāṃhitā recital.³ This *vigraha* is shown by reciting the crude base of the first word and after a short pause by reciting the next word along with the case affix which is put after it, as for instance पुरुःसहितम्, रत्नसंघातमम् etc.

२३. स च द्विविधः स्वपदैरन्यपदैर्वा ।

This dissolution is of two kinds (1) dissolution shown by the constituent words and (2) dissolution shown by other words. The Padakāras recognise only the first kind. This dissolution is shown when the constituent parts are possible to be shown as distinctly apart and capable of denoting distinctly their individual separate senses. Hence, there can be no *vigraha* in compounds which are used as proper nouns such as Viśvāmitra, Brhaspati and others. No *vigraha* is evidently possible in the Ekaśeṣa *vṛtti*, as, out of the two

¹ Pāṇini's sūtra उपपदमतिङ् (II. 2. 19) prohibits in clear terms any compound with a verbal form.

² See उदात्तवता तिङा गतिमता चाव्ययं समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् । अनुव्यचलत् । अनुमाविशत् । यत्परिष्यन्ति *Mahābhāṣya* on P. II. 2. 18, Vārttika 4.

³ See note 1 on p. 5.

words joined together in sense, one is actually omitted. The problem of one word carrying a combined sense of two words is solved by following the doctrine of युगपदधिकरणवचनता or the simultaneous denotation of two senses of two words by one of the two words.¹ This dissolution is shown by the Padakāras by means of observing a short pause in the recital in the case of the Samāsa, the Ākhyātasamāsa and the Dvirvacana vṛtti where two padas constitute the vṛtti. In other cases such as Kṛt, Taddhita and Pratyayāntadhātu, vṛttis which have an affix or pratyaya as one of the constituents, the dissolution is shown in such cases only, where the affix or the base before it, has got no change or has such changes as are due to mere juxtaposition or consideration of metre or rhythm. No separation is shown when the change is a drastic one, such as the omission of a letter or more, or the substitution of one letter for another such as वृ for सू or सू for visarga and similar ones.

२४. वृत्तिपदविभाजकानि पर्वाणि ।

पर्वेन् is the name given to the break or the division of the constituent parts of a vṛtti possessing a unit of the constituent sense. Generally in a vṛtti, as there are two constituent parts, there is one break or parvan. But, in a few cases there are three constituent parts, made up of one base and two affixes such as वीरवत्तम्, वसुमत्तर and others, or two basic words and one affix such as चित्रश्रवस्तम्, अविदुष्टर and others.

२५. कृत्तद्धितसमासा एकपर्वाणो द्विपर्वाणो वा ।

The Kṛdvṛtti, the Samāsavṛtti and the Taddhitavṛtti are capable of having one break or in few cases two breaks or in very rare cases even three or more breaks as in अर्द्धघ्नतप्रमतिः, अनभिन्नातवर्णः, मिथोवद्यपेभिः, वीरवत्तम् and others. It is, however, to be noted, that although in a compound vṛtti there are two or more breaks, the Padakāras observe only one pause or

¹ See note 3 on p. 8.

अवग्रह¹ as for instance in अद्वघ्नतःप्रमतिः, अनभिम्लातःसर्वः, मिथः
अवग्रहोभिः, वीरवत्समम्.

२६. नाम्नोन्तरं धातोर्वाऽनन्तरं प्रत्येति स प्रत्ययः ।

Affix is that which is added to a noun-base or to a root for conveying an additional sense which is required for different purposes such as the formation of a noun from a root or *vice versa*, or for conveying a related sense, or for showing relationship with other words.

२७. नामकरणधातुकरणविभक्तिस्वार्थिकभेदेन ते चतुर्विधाः ।

The affixes are of four kinds : Affixes applied to roots for the formation of nouns are called नामकरण affixes. The nouns so formed are named कृदन्त nouns. Those applied to nouns for the formation of other nouns, in the sense of offspring, quality, residence, possession and the like, are called *taddhita* affixes. Affixes applied to nouns, as also to roots, in the sense of some specific different activities or the same activities in different kinds, are named *dhātukaraṇa pratyayas*. Affixes applied to nouns as also to roots to show their relationship with other nouns or verbs in the sentence, are called *vibhaktipratyayas*.² Affixes applied generally to nouns, simple as well as compounded, without any specific sense, are called *svārthikāpratyayas*. For technical purposes they are said to express the same sense as the base to which they are applied.³

¹ Cf. बहुप्रकृतावागन्तुना पर्वण (वा. प्रा. अ. ५ सू. ७) ॥ बहूनि पदानि यत्र तत् बहुप्रकृतिकम्, तत्र आगन्तुना पर्वणा समासलक्षणेन यत् पश्चात्कालिकं पदं भवति तेन अवग्रहः कर्तव्यः । प्रजापतिरिति प्रजाऽपतिः । प्रजापतिगृहीत्वयेति प्रजापतिऽगृहीतया । (*Faj. Prax.* V. 7). The term अवग्रह is explained as अवगृह्यते यः सः अवग्रहः । Accordingly, अवग्रह is that part which is held back by a pause. The word, by Lakṣmī, is used in the sense of the pause itself which occurs between the two parts of a word.

² Cf. *विभक्तिः* (P. I. 4. 105) which defines the term विभक्ति as applicable to case affixes as also to conjugational affixes.

³ Cf. स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतितो नातिवर्तन्ते (*Pratyāparibhāṣāpāṭha* 74).

२८. विभक्तिप्रत्ययान्तानामेव नाम्नामाख्यातानां
च वाक्ये प्रयोगः ।

Nouns, including prefixes and indeclinables, as also roots including secondary roots are always to be used with suitable *vibhaktipratyayas*.¹ Prefixes such as प्र, परा and indeclinables such as यथा, च, इव, and others have, in fact, no *vibhakti* *pratyaya* applied to them ; hence, they are given the name *avyaya* meaning not allowing any loss or addition for expressing the idea of gender or syntactical relation.³ For technical purposes, however, according to Pāṇini's grammar, the affixes that are necessary, are placed after them, but they are elided.

Section III

(Dissertation on pause)

तृतीयः खण्डः (अवग्रहचर्चा)

२९. पदपाठे पर्वणि कृत ईषद्विरामोवग्रहः ।

A small stop in the recital of the Padapāṭha at the end of a break or *parvan* is called *avagraha*.³ This *avagraha* in the old handwritten works, and now in printed editions of the Padapāṭha is marked (s) just like the *avagraha* mark (s) in the texts of classical works at places where the vowel *e* or *o* combines with the following vowel *अ*, although it has nothing to do with that coalescence stated in Pāṇini's rule पृः पदान्तादति (VI. 1.109). In some copies it is marked by a small dash (-).

¹ Cf. न केवला विभक्तिः प्रयोक्तव्या न केवलः प्रत्ययः (*Mahābhāṣya* I. 2. 64 Vārt. 5).

² Cf. सहस्रं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु ।

वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥ (*Kāśikā* on P. I. 1. 37).

³ Cf. The term अवग्रह, as defined here, means a small pause taking the time of one *mātrā*, which is generally observed by the reciters of the Padapāṭha, who, when showing apart the two members of a compound word, stop at the end of the first member. Cf. समासेऽवग्रहो ह्रस्वसमकालः (*Vāj. Prāt.* V. 1). It is also defined as द्वयोः पदयोः पृथग् ग्रहणमवग्रहः (*Uvata's* com. on *Vāj. Prāt.* V. 1). Sometimes the term is used for the first member of a compound word, as in संहितावदवग्रहः परविधौ (*Vāj. Prāt.* I. 148).

३०. वृत्तिविग्रहे पदविभागयोरर्थविभागयोश्च स्पष्टप्रतिपत्तिश्चेत्तर्होवावग्रहः ।

In showing the subdivisions of a word representing a *vrtti*, *avagraha* should be given between two subdivisions provided their wording and sense are clearly and distinctly made out. If the end of the first part or the beginning of the second part is mutilated otherwise than by rules of euphonic combinations, the *avagraha* is not given.

३१. स चैकस्मिन्पदे सङ्ख्येव कार्यः, न पर्वणि पर्वणि ।

This *avagraha* should be observed only once, and not in each break if there are two or more breaks in a word. In a compound of three words the *avagraha* is given at the end of the second word.¹ In a *Taddhitavrtti* where two different *taddhita* affixes are added to a word, or a *taddhita* affix is added to a compound word, the *avagraha* is given at the end of two components. Similarly, if a detachable case affix is added to a compound word or a *taddhita* word, the *avagraha* is given before the detachable case-affix *भ्याम्*, *भिस* or *सु*.²

३२. कृद्रुतौ द्वयोः खण्डयोः पृथक्त्वेनार्थानवधारणान्नावग्रहः ।

There is no *avagraha* given between the two parts of *Krdanta* words or verbal derivatives, as the sense of the two parts cannot be separately distinguished. For example, in *वाक्कः*, *यष्टा*, *दात्र*, and others the activity is shown as vested in the agent or in the instrument or in the abode, the agents or the instruments or the abodes of activities are not shown as separate from the activities.

३३. कसुप्रत्ययेऽवग्रहः ।

The *kr̥t* affix *वस* (कसु) is looked upon as possessor of an activity, shown separately by the preceding redupli-

¹ Cf. बहुप्रकृतोकाकन्तुना पर्वणा (*Vāj. Prāk. V. 7*) explained by Uvātā as बहुनि पदानि यत्र तद् बहुप्रकृति मदम् । तत्र आगन्तुना पर्वणा समासलक्षणेन यत् पञ्चात्कालिकं मदं भवति तेन अत्रग्रहो भवति । यथा प्रजापतिरिति प्रजा-पतिः । प्रजा-पतिर्होतयेति प्रजापति-मुहूर्तया ।

² Cf. इत्यन्वयान्भ्याः सकारादौ विभक्तिप्रत्यये । स्विति चान्तौ । (*Vāj. Prāk. V. 13, 14*)

cated root form and if the root ends in a short vowel, and the affix वस् has not undergone any mutilation, the affix is shown as separated from the root form by *avagraha*¹ as for example, पपिञ्चान्, चकृञ्चान्, शुश्रुञ्चान्, ईयिञ्चांसम्, तस्थिञ्चान्, ओकिञ्चांसम्, दीदिञ्चांसम्, ससृञ्चांसम्, ससञ्चांसम् तुस्तुञ्चांसम्, but not in चिकित्त्वान्, विविद्वान्, जग्मिवान्, जिगीवान्, जगन्वान्, ईयुषीणाम् etc.

३४. तद्धितवृत्तौ प्रातिपदिकं तान्तं सान्तं न चेत्, प्रत्ययश्च
स्वर्यकारादिर्न चेत् ।

In a *Taddhitavṛtti*, the base and the affix are shown as separate units in wording as well as in sense, and the affix is shown separate by *avagraha* in the Pada-recital. However, if the noun-base ends in the consonant न् or स्, and the affix is in the sense of possession such as मत्, वत्, विन् or the like, the *avagraha* should not be observed so also if the *tad.* affix begins with a vowel or with the consonant य्, the *avagraha* is not observed as the noun-base before such affixes is generally mutilated.

३५. समासविग्रहे पदयोर्मध्येऽवग्रहः पदपाठे ।

In the recital of the Padapāṭha, the two members of the compound are shown separate by an *avagraha*. If the final letter of the first member or the initial letter of the first member is affected by rules of euphonic combination, the original form is to be cited in the Padapāṭha. If the base of the first member ending in the consonant न् has got न् dropped in the compound form, then before the *avagraha*, the base has to be recited without the letter न्. If the first member ending in स् has got the letter changed into *visarga* or into the vowel ओ, the *visarga* is to be shown before the *avagraha*.

३६. नञ्समासे पूर्वपदस्य विकृतत्वाद्भागयोश्च पृथगर्था-
नवधारणाच्चावग्रहः ।

In the case of the negative Tatpuruṣa and negative Bahuvrīhi compounds there is no *avagraha* given in the Pada recital

¹ Cf. वॉसौ च भूतकाले स्वरेण ह्रस्वादनुषि (*Vāj. Prat.* V. 11) explained by Uvaṭa as वासौ च प्रत्यये परभूतेऽवग्रहो भवति भूतकालार्थाभिधायिनि स्वरेण ह्रस्वात् परभूते स्वरेण वा ह्रस्वे नोपाहिते ।

after the first member,¹ e. g. अजरं. (I 58 2), अजातान् (V 15.2), अभयम् (II 27 11), अनुन्तान् (VII. 104. 17), अनुपन्यानि (III. 54. 18). The likely reason for not giving the *avagraha* is that in compounds with the negative particle न, no separate senses of negation and the object negated are available there, but one single sense of 'an object other than the negated one' is available from the compound. The particle न in compounds has the sense of *pariyudāsa* and not that of *pratisēha*. The form of *na*, besides, is not preserved in the compound, *na* being changed into *a* or *an*, but even though the form of *na* is preserved in the compound words नत्राद्, नासत्या, नक्षत्र and others, still there is no *avagraha* given in their recital

३७. देवताद्वन्द्वे तणि^३ च नावग्रहः ।

The *avagraha* is not given in the recital of the Pada-pāṭha after the first member when the words denoting deities are put together in a Dvandva compound, e. g. इन्द्राग्नी, मित्रावरुणौ. So also there is no *avagraha* given after the first member in compounds which are proper nouns or which have got the restricted sense of 'designation' (संज्ञा). In Dvandva compounds of deities, there is no individually separate sense conveyed by each of the two words, the two words being looked upon as a compounded deity. In such cases, the words denoting a designation, there are no individually separate senses conveyed by the two words but the sense of the compound is one single individual. For example in विश्वामित्र there is no individually separate sense given by विश्व or मित्र.

३८. संघातद्वन्द्वे द्वन्द्वे नावग्रहः ।

There is no *avagraha* given in such Dvandva compounds as denote a group sense e. g. अजावयं. (X. 90. 10), सत्यान्ते इति (VII. 49.3).

¹ Cf. प्रतिषेधे नावग्रहः । उत्तरेण चाकारेण । यथा-अग्रत्वा, अनिराः, अनातनाय, अज्ञतपूर्व्यः । (Ved. Prāt. V. 24-25).

² The word तणि was used by ancient grammarians in the sense of संज्ञा and छन्दस्. Cf. बहुलं तणीनि वक्तव्यम् । त्रिंशत् तणानि । संज्ञानन्दमोक्षधनम् । (Mahābhāṣya II. 4. 54, Vārt 11).

³ Cf. द्वन्द्वानि द्विवचनान्तानि स्वरान्तपूर्वपदानि (Ved. Prāt. V. 28).

३९. विभक्तिप्रत्ययेषु प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोरविकृतत्वे सत्येवावग्रहः ।

The *vibhakti* affixes applied to noun-bases are looked upon as conveying a separate sense and they are hence looked upon as forming a kind of *vrtti* giving room for *avagraha* after the base. The *avagraha* is given only when the affixes and the base are clearly distinguishable, the affix having a consonant without *y* at the beginning, and the base ending in a consonant or a short vowel (प्रकृतिः स्वरान्ता चेद् ह्रस्वस्वरान्ताया एव प्रकृतेरनन्तरमवग्रहः । वसौ क्याचि च एवमेव प्रकृतेः ह्रस्वस्वरान्तायाः). Short vowels अ, इ, उ and ऋ were termed संवृत by ancient grammarians¹ and naturally there resulted a very short stop after their utterance in the articulate speech, e. g. अक्षसिः, अजसिः, मन्मसिः, ऋक्सिः, अद्रिसिः, अविंसिः, रातिसिः, मत्तिसिः, युसिः, अकुसिः, पितुसिः, अतुस्यः, उक्षतुसिः, मरुतुसिः, वीळुमतुसिः, गीःसिः, वमःसिः, अङ्गिरःसिः etc. But there is no *avagraha* given in the Padapāṭha of मात्राभिः, पूर्वाभिः, होत्राभिः, आर्यसीभिः, रात्रीभिः, प्रज्जाभिः, नदीभिः, धीभिः, तेभिः, गोभिः, देवेभ्यः and others. Similarly there is an *avagraha* in अप्सु, पृतसु, शीर्षसु etc. but not in मासु, अन्वासु, प्रज्जासु, नदीषु, गीर्षु, गोषु, ओषधीषु and others.

४०. अञ्चिसह्योः क्विबन्त उत्तरपदे गोपादिषु च नावग्रहः ।

Avagraha is not given in the Padapāṭha in the case of compounds with verbal nouns from the roots अञ्च् and सह् with the affix क्विन् added to them as also in the case of compounds like गोपा. In the case of these words, the compounds are not dissolved at all in the Padapāṭha; the words being recited just as in the Samhitāpāṭha, e. g. अञ्चः । अञ्ची इति । घृताची । देवद्वीचा । अस्मत्राञ्चः । सद्यञ्चः । अर्वाचीवाः । अपीच्येन । प्राञ्चः । प्रवीची । also गोपा (VII. 91.2), गोपाः (I. 22.18) विष्पतिः । मातरिन्धा ।

¹ Bhartrhari in his *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* has quoted the axiom संवृतः संवृताः from some ancient work. The vowel अ is said to be संवृत as used in the spoken language. See अ अ इति (P. VIII. 4. 68) and the *Mahābhāṣya* thereon.

² Cf. अञ्चतिसह्योः कृलोपे (*Vāj. Prāt.* V. 30),

ऋत्विजम् । आर्षणि । नराशंसम् । It is likely that these words were looked upon as *rūḍha* words or proper nouns allowing no derivation. Mark however, that the words जमदग्नि, जातवेदस् and the like are dissolved in the Padapāṭha although they are proper names. जमत्ऽअग्निना । जातऽवेदसम् । जातऽवेदः ।

४१. एकशेषवृत्तौ न विग्रहो न वाऽवग्रहः ।

In the Ekaśeṣavṛtti although there is a mention of two separate objects as in the Dvandva compound, still, as there is only one unit in wording, no division is possible and evidently the question of *avagraha* does not occur, e. g. द्यावा, क्षामा, पृथिवी, पितरौ, मातरौ (X 115.1) and others. Sometimes both the words, out of which one is used to denote both, are found used forming a compound like the Devatādvandva, e. g. द्यावापृथिवी, द्यावाभूमि, मातरापितरा (IV. 6.7). Here no *avagraha* is observed between the two words which preserve their own accent. In several places quite a different word is noticed between the two, e. g. प्र द्यावा शोचि पृथिवी अरोचयत् (I. 143.2) or प्र द्यावा यज्ञेः पृथिवी ऋतावृथा (I. 159.1) or द्यावा रक्षतं पृथिवी नो अन्वाक (I. 185. 2-8). It is to be noted that these passages are not quoted by commentators as instances of अवग्रहसंहिता, such as गुनानुपूर्वसंहिता निर्दिष्टम् (V. 2.7), नरा वा शंसं पूषणम् (X. 64.3) and नरा च शंसं देव्यम् (IX. 86. 42) are quoted,¹ nor the two words द्यावा and पृथिवी are taken together and joined in the Padapāṭha as द्याव-शेषम् । चित् । and नराशंसम् । च ।

४२. प्रत्ययान्वधातुवृत्तौ नाम्नोऽनन्तरं धातुकरणे लङुत्तरं च नामकरणश्चेत् ।

Secondary roots are derived generally from primary roots by the application of root-making (धातुकरण) affixes such as णिच्, सन्, क्त्वं and others. They are also derived from

¹ Cf. विलोमे पदवत् संघिरनानुपूर्वसंहिते (*Vikṛtsavali* 9) ; also गुनानुपूर्वसंहिते, नरा वा शंसं पूषणम् । नरा च शंसं देव्यं ता अनानुपूर्वसंहिताः (*Rk Prāt.* II. 43).

nouns by the addition of the root making affixes क्यच्, क्यङ्, णिङ्, णिच्, क्यष्, काम्यच् and others. When the nāmakarana affix उ or अत्¹ is added to a denominative root ending in य, and when the noun before the affix य has not undergone any mutilation, there arises a possibility of making two clear divisions of such nouns ending in उ or अत् and observing a pause (अवग्रह) between them, e. g. स्वास्यवः, अश्वस्युः, वाजस्युः, ऋतस्यतः, देवस्यन्तः.² Pāṇini has given the *taddhita* यु to be placed after the nouns अहम् and शुभ for the formation of the words अहंयुः and शुभंयुः.³ These words are, however, formed by the addition of the affix उ to the denominative roots अहंय and शुभंय.

४३. द्विवचनवृत्तौ समासवदवग्रहः ।

Utterance of a word twice in juxtaposition occurs to convey the senses of frequency, emphasis and the like⁴ and as the two words form one expression with one acute accent, they can be said to form a *vṛtti*. In fact, they are treated so by the Padakāras and *avagraha* is observed between them in the Padapāṭha; e. g. दिवेदिवे (R.V. I. 1.3, 7, I. 31.7, I. 34.7 etc.), यज्ञस्यस्यज्ञस्य (R.V. X. 1.5), देवस्यस्यदेवस्य (R.V. X. 1.5, X. 136.4).

¹ The affix उ is applied to denominative roots ending in क्यच् (य) in Vedic Literature by the rule कयाच्छन्दसि (P. III. 2. 170). अत् stands for the present participle affix सत् of Pāṇini.

² Cf. त्वायवः शंयोर्वेहिर्घास्मयुं मृगमयीं सुम्नयाशुया साधुया धृष्णुया विशालमनुया ! and मृगयुमुभयादतोऽपामार्गकिंपुरुषमिति च । (Vaj. Prāt. V. 20, 21) These two sūtras have quoted examples from the *Suklayajurvedasamhitā* which are similar to the examples cited here.

³ Cf. अहंशुभयोर्युस् (P. V. 2. 140), ऊर्णाया युस् (V. 2. 123) and केशंभ्यां बभयुस्तितुतयसः (V. 2. 138). The mute letter स् affixed to the *Taddhita* termination यु, shows that the base before the affix यु, stated by these rules, has got the designation पद by the rule सिति च (P. I. 4. 16), and hence *avagraha* can be observed after the base.

⁴ This *dvivachana* is seen prescribed in Pāṇini's rules सर्वस्य द्वे and onwards (P. VIII. 1. 1 to 15),

४४. अङ्गवद्भाववृत्तौ केवलमैकस्वर्ये दृश्यते नावग्रहः ।

A pair of words, which is formed by a noun in the vocative case, and another one, preceding or following it being closely connected with it¹ can be termed *vrtta* by the presence of one acute accent in the two words, just as in the case of द्विवचनवृत्ति No *avagraha*, however, is observed between the two words, as the two units are looked upon as separate words with two separate senses, e. g. पुत्रं सहस्रः । (R. V. I. 40. 2, III 14 4 etc.) ब्रह्मण. पते । (R. V. I 18 1, I. 40. 1 etc.)

४५. आख्यातसमासवृत्तौ समासवदवग्रहः ।

According to the grammar of Pāṇini, a verb is never compounded with a noun. The Padakāṇas, however, look upon those verbs which retain their accent on account of the presence of the conditional particles यद्दि, or that of the forms of the relative pronoun यन्, as compounded with the prepositions preceding them, and observe *avagraha* between them e. g. परिऽअभूषत् । अनुऽक्षरन्ति² etc.

Section IV

(Dissertation on accents)

चतुर्थः खण्डः (स्वरचर्चा)

४६. उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितप्रचयाः स्वराश्चत्वारः ।

In very ancient times when Sanskrit was a spoken language, excepting words of relatively very small importance which were left unaccented, every word in a sentence was uttered with an accent of the type of a stress on one syllable

¹ This अङ्गवद्भाव is of two kinds: (1) पूर्वङ्गवद्भाव and पराङ्गवद्भाव. The पूर्वङ्गवद्भाव is prescribed by सुभाषिते पराङ्गवत् स्वरि (P. II. 1. 2) while the पूर्वङ्गवद्भाव is prescribed by the Vārttika परमपि च्छन्दासि (Vārt. 6 on P. II. 1. 2). The instances given in the *Mahābhāṣya* for the former are पितृभ्यस्तान्, अग्नेष्यन्, मीनाणां राजन् and others, while those for the latter are अयं तेषां पितृभ्यस्तान् सुन्वन्ते (R. V. II. 33. 1), प्रति त्वा दुःहादिवः (R. V. III. 31. 3)

² The compound with a verb is categorically prohibited by the rule उपपदमनिच् (P. II. 2. 19). Instances are, however, found in a large number in the Vedic literature where the Padapāṭha has shown a

(Continued on the next page)

in it, in conversations, addresses and dialogues. This stress accent was termed *udātta* or acute. Its definition is given alike as उच्चैरुदात्तः in the ancient Prāṭisākhya works, which Pāṇini has picked up. The terms उदात्त and अनुदात्त are explained in the *Taittirīya Prāṭisākhya* as “आयामो दारुण्यमणुता खस्येत्युच्चैः कराणि शब्दस्य । अन्ववसर्गो मर्दवमुरुता खस्येति नीचैः कराणि शब्दस्य” (तै. प्रा. २२९-१०). The author of the *Mahābhāṣya* has quoted these lines and explained the words आयाम, दारुण्य and others. The explanation of the terms आयाम दारुण्य and अणुता (खस्य) given by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* well applies to the stress accent and confirms the statement made above, that in ancient times when Sanskrit was the universally spoken language and the hymns of the *R̥gveda* were composed, the stress accent prevailed. Later on, when Sanskrit came to be spoken without any scrupulous care of the stress accentuation, an additional accent स्वरित was given to the vowel succeeding the *udātta* vowel with a view to preserving intact the text of the Veda. The Veda Saṃhitās came to be recited in three accents,¹ and rules of euphonic combinations were strictly observed as a further measure for the preservation. Later on, the Pada texts and thereafter the Krama texts were prepared, in which the accents of the Saṃhitā texts were kept intact. Strictly speaking, there were three accents¹ only, in which the Veda texts came

(Continued from the previous page)

preposition separated from the following verbal form by means of a pause (*avagraha*). The author of the *Mahābhāṣya* has shown his approval for such compounds. Cf. (सहेति) योगविभागः करिष्यते । सह सुप्र समस्यते । केन सह । समर्थेन । अनुव्यचलत् । अनुप्राविशत् । (*Mahābhāṣya* on P. II. 1. 4).

¹ In the Prāṭisākhya works *svara* or accent is described to be of three kinds. Cf. उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च त्रयः स्वराः । (*Āk Prāt.* III. 1). The *Vājasaneyi Prāṭisākhya* also gives three kinds as stated in the Sūtra त्रीन् (I. 128) which is commented upon by Uvaṣa as उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितान् यजुर्वेदे त्रीन् स्वरानाहुः । The *Svara Lakṣaṇa* gives the उदात्त and अनुदात्त as the principal ones and looks upon *svarita* as subordinate. Cf. उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च द्वैतौ प्रकृतिस्वरौ । स्वरितस्तु तयोयोगे स च सप्तविधः स्मृतः ॥ (*Svara Lak.* I. 1).

to be recited, still, as in a single word, as also in a compound word only one vowel was accented as *udātta*, the vowel following that *udātta* as *svarita*, and the rest *anudātta*, the *anudātta* vowels after *svarita* came to be recited in a slightly different tone which was given the name *pracaya*.

४७. संहितास्वरा एव पदपाठेष्वतिष्ठन्ते ।

The four accents with which the Samhitā text is recited, remain unchanged in the Pada text, or the recital of separate *padas*. In joining and reciting several independent words together, some changes occurred in the last letter of a word and the first letter of the next word, and the accents were also changed, but, in the Pada recital, the separate *padas* were recited with their natural wording and accents e.g. the Samhitā text अग्निर्मिले पुरोहितम् was recited in the Padapāṭha as अग्निम् । मिले । पुरोहितम् .

४८. एकस्मिन्पदे एकस्यां वा वृत्तावेक एवोदात्तः ।

शेष अनुदात्ताः ।

There is only one out of the several vowels in a *pada* or *vṛtti*, that is recited as *udātta*, one following the *udātta* as *svarita*, and the rest *anudātta*, e.g.¹ अग्निः, इन्द्रः, सविता, यज्ञेन, पर्यसूतव .

४९. देवताद्वन्द्वेषु वनस्पत्यादिषु च युगपद् द्वावुदात्तौ ।

In the Dvandva samāsa of two words denoting deities used in any case except the vocative, as also in compounds like वनस्पति, each word retains its own *udātta* accent²

¹ Cf. अनुदात्तं पदेष्वर्च्यम् (P. VI. 1. 158) and उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (P. VIII. 4. 86); also Cf. उदात्तपूर्वं स्वरितमनुदात्तं पदेष्वर्च्यम् (Bk. Prāt. III. 4); also Cf. उदात्ताच्चानुदात्ते स्वरितम् (Pā. Prāt. IV. 137 as also subsequent rules upto IV. 143).

² Cf. देवताद्वन्द्वे च (P. VI. 2. 141) and उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपद् (P. VI. 2. 140). Cf. also देवताद्वन्द्वानि चानामन्त्रितानि (Pā. Prāt. II. 48). In the word इन्द्रावृहस्पती there are three vowels with the *udātta* accent.

If the compound word is in the vocative case, then the initial vowel alone is *udātta*,¹ e. g. मित्रावरुणा, चावापृथिवी, वनस्पतिः. For vocative forms see इन्द्रवायू, सोमापूषणा, मित्रावरुणा, मित्रराजाना, सोमार्हदा which stand at the beginning of a verse foot. See also मित्रावरुणौ.

५०. संहितास्थानि सर्वानुदात्तपदानि पदपाठे तथैव पठ्यन्ते ।

If words in the vocative case and verbs have all their vowels अनुदात्त, used as they are after another word, they are recited in the Padapāṭha as they are recited in the Saṁhitāpāṭha. The original accents of those words are not restored in the Padapāṭha, e. g. अग्निमिच्छि पुरोहितम् has अग्निम् । इच्छे । पुरःऽहितम् as the Padapāṭha. So also अत्यतिष्ठद्दशाङ्गलम् or अति । अतिष्ठत् । दशऽअङ्गलम्.

५१. पदपाठे सावग्रहपदोच्चारणे उदात्तात्पूर्वे सर्वे स्वरा अनुदात्ताः पठ्यन्ते ।

In the Padapāṭha, when a compound word is shown split up into two parts by *avagraha* between them, all the syllables preceding the *udātta* syllable, are recited as *anudātta* e. g. प्रतिऽक्षियन्तम् (II. 10.4) सहस्रऽशीर्षा । पुरुषः । सहस्रऽअक्षः । सहस्रऽधात् । (X. 90.1)

५२. उदात्तादनन्तरमेकः स्वरितस्तदनन्तरं च सर्वे प्रचयत्वेन पठ्यन्ते ।

In the Padapāṭha, when a compound word is split up into its two constituent parts with *avagraha* observed between them, the syllable after the *udātta* vowel is recited as *svarita* and all the vowels thereafter in one tone, called *prachaya*, e. g. दिवेऽदिवे (I. 3; 7 etc.) विश्वऽविशम् (X. 91.2).

¹ A noun in the vocative case has the first syllable *udātta* (P. VI. 1. 198). But when that noun in the vocative does not stand at the beginning of a sentence, or at the beginning of a foot of verse, it is सर्वानुदात्त i. e. it has got all its syllables *anudātta*.

Section V

(Dissertation on Coalescence)

पञ्चमः खण्डः (संधिचर्चा)

५३. लोपागमादेशवर्णविकाररूपाः संधयश्चतुर्धा ।

When the constituent words of a Vedic hymn as also the constituent words of the several *vr̥ttis* are uttered in juxtaposition or Saṁhitā, their co-alescence is observed in four different kinds as affecting the final letter of the first and the initial letter of the second constituent. These euphonic combinations of four types are: (1) elision of a letter, (2) addition of a letter, (3) substitution of another letter and (4) mutilation of a letter.

५४. स्वरसंधौ गुणवृद्धिसवर्णदीर्घान्तस्थादेशवर्जमन्यत्रैकस्य
स्वरस्य लोपः ।

When two vowels occur in juxtaposition, one of them is dropped unless they combine together as one single *guṇa* vowel or one *vr̥ddhi* vowel, or one long vowel or the first of the two is turned into a semivowel. In short, instead of the *pararūpasandhi* as in देवीम्, देवम् etc, there is the omission of the vowel अ of the affix अम्. So also in words like देवैः, जनैः, प्रेजते instead of the *pararūpasandhi* there is the elision of the vowel अ at the end of देव, जन and प्र.

५५. डणना आगमाः पूर्वस्य न परस्य ।

When ङ्, ञ् or ण् is to be added as an augment, it is to be affixed to the preceding vowel or consonant¹ and not to be prefixed to the following one. Accordingly, the *Īadapāṭha* of प्रत्यङ्ङिति (I. 144.7) is प्रत्यङ्ङिति and not प्रत्यङ्ङिति; that of अक्षुञ्च-

¹ Cf. पदान्तीयो ह्रस्वपूर्वो ङकारो नकारश्च क्रामत उत्तरे स्वरे (Bk Prāt. ५५. १). The *Bk Prātisakhyā* lays down here the doubling (क्रम) of ङ् or ञ् or ण् standing at the end of a *pada*, preceded by a short vowel and succeeded by any vowel, e. g. कीदृङ्ङित्त्रः सरणे (Bk Pr. X. 108. 3), अङ्ङिति परिश्रयानम् (Bk Pr. III. 32. 11).

मीमदन्त हि (I. 82.2) is अक्षन् । मीमदन्त । हि and not अक्षन् । मीमदन्त । हि । So also अक्षण्वन्तः and अक्षण्वान् (X. 71.7 and I. 164.16) are split up as अक्षण्ण्वन्तः and अक्षण्ण्वान् and not अक्षण्वन्तः nor अक्षण्वान् as the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* would have.

५६. गुणवृद्धिदीर्घाः स्वरादेशाः ।

The substitution of the *guṇa* vowel अ, ए or ओ, for two vowels in juxtaposition, that of the *vrddhi* vowel आ, ऐ or औ for two vowels and that of a long vowel for two vowels are *sandhis* of the nature of *ādeśa*.

५७. वर्गप्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमा व्यञ्जनानामादेशाः ।

The substitution of the first, third and fifth consonants of a class for others of the same class, known as चर्त्तव, जडत्व and अनुनासिकादेश are *sandhis* of the nature of *ādeśa*.

५८. सकारस्य षकारो विकारो नकारस्य णकारश्च ।

The substitution of ष् for स्, and that of ण् for न् under certain conditions, are called mutilations or *vikāras*.

Section VI

(Dissertation on Restoration to the Original)

षष्ठः खण्डः (प्रकृतिप्रत्यापत्तिचर्चा)

५९. पूर्वपदस्थनिमित्तेन षत्वणत्वरूपविकृतिमापन्नयोः

सकारनकारयोः पदपाठे प्रकृत्यापादनम् ।

If the consonants स् and न् are changed in *Saṁhitā* into ष् and ण् respectively, on account of some conditions in the preceding word, restoration to the original form is effected in the *Padapāṭha*, e. g. मो ष् णं इन्द्रा यत्रं पृत्सु देवैरस्ति हि ष्मा ते शुष्मिन्नव्याः is changed into *Padapāṭha* as मो इति । सु । नः । इन्द्र यत्रं । पृत्सु । देवैः । अस्ति । हि । स्म । ते । शुष्मिन् । अन्व्याः । where ष्, णः and ष्मा in the *Saṁhitā* text are restored to their original forms सु, नः and स्म. See also the words, रघुव्यदम् (III. 26.2), मधुबुधमः (III. 58.9), अविदुष्टरासः (X. 2.4), नि षसाद (I. 25.10), सुष्टुतिम् (I. 7.7),

सुषुदम् (VIII. 58.3), and the like re-changed into रघुस्यदम्, मधुसुत्समः, अविदुञ्जरासः, नि ससाद, सुस्तुतिम्, सुसदम् etc. respectively.

६०. अभ्यासात्परस्य च षकारस्य तथैव ।

Similarly the letter *ष* occurring in the reduplicated syllable becomes changed into the original *स* in the Padapāṭha, e. g. सुषुपुः (VII. 18.14) into सुसुपुः, सुषुमा, (I. 137.1) into सुसुम, सुषुमान् (X. 3.1) into सुसुमान्, सुषुदथ (V. 54.7) into सुसुदथ, सुष्वानासं (IX. 101.11) into सुस्वानासं. It has to be, however, noted that in the examples quoted here, there is, in a way, little defence for the restoration of *ष* into *स*, as the cause for the change of *स* into *ष* remains intact in the same *pada*; it does not become removed apart even by an *avagraha*. Perhaps after the reduplication of the root सु, स्वप्, सूद् or the like, both the units of the root were looked upon as independent roots and the second syllable as a root was restored to its original form inspite of the absence of separation by an *avagraha*.

६१. लुप्तान्तिमनकारस्य प्रतियपदिकस्य तथैवावस्थानम् ।

The letter *न्* standing at the end of a noun-base (प्रातिपदिक) forming the first member of a compound or preceding a case affix such as मिः; सु or the like, which is elided in the compound word, is not restored in the Padapāṭha, e. g. कृत्स्नश्वाः (X. 121.2), राज्ञस्पुत्रा (II. 27.7), राजस्यक्षमात् (X. 161.1), पूर्वराजस्यः (I. 23.8), राज्ञंसिः (I. 20.5 etc.), कर्मसि (III. 36.1), कर्मसु (VIII. 38. 1).¹ It is to be noted however that before the

¹ According to Pāṇini, *न्* is dropped here as it is at the end of a noun-base by the rule नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य. As, generally the authors of the Padapāṭha put before the *avagraha*, the original form of the crude base, they should have shown the consonant *न्* in the dissolution of the Padapāṭha. They, however, do not show it. Possibly as shown above in note No. 1 on p. 24 words ending in *न्* were supposed to have two crude bases.

taddhita affix वत्, न् is not dropped and the *avagraha* is given in the Padapāṭha after न् liable to be changed to ण् if required e. g. अक्षण्श्वान् (I. 164.16).¹

६२. घक्षिघक्षोरित्यादौ संहितापाठे कृतस्य दत्वस्य घत्वप्रत्यापत्तिः ।

In the case of the root दह् there is recited in the Saṁhitā pāṭha, the letter द् for घ् in forms like घक्षि, घञ्चु and others. The original letter घ् is, however, restored in the Padapāṭha, e. g. आर्दस्य ते कृष्णासो दक्षि सूरयः (I. 141.8) is split up in the Padapāṭha as आत् । अस्य । ते । कृष्णासः । घक्षि । सूरयः. Similarly संदष्टिरस्य हियानस्य दक्षोः (II. 4.4) is split up as सम्दष्टिः । अस्य । हियानस्य । घक्षोः । so also, दक्षत् in (II. 4.7) is restored to घक्षत् in the Padapāṭha. This change of घ् of the root दह् into द् in the Saṁhitā text is only occasional.² The correct forms घक्षि, घक्षोः, घक्षत् and others are many times used.

६३. अव्ययानामाख्यातानां च दीर्घीकृतोन्त्यः स्वरो
ह्रस्वतामापद्यते पदपाठे ।

Many times several indeclinables and verb forms have got their final vowel lengthened for the purpose of rhythm in the metre. They are all restored to their original forms in the

¹ Pānini has prescribed the addition of न् to the affix वत् to be prefixed to it by the rule अनो नुद् (P. VIII. 2. 16). The original न् at the end of the bases अस्थन्, दधन्, अक्षन्, राजन् and the like, is dropped before the affix वत् by the rule नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य (P. VIII. 2. 7); but in Vedic Literature, as the words अक्षण्वन्तः, अस्थन्वन्तः are actually noticed in use, Pānini has prefixed न् to the affix वत् by the rule अनो नुद् with a view to having the substitution of ण् for न् where possible, which would have been prevented by the rule पदान्तस्य, had न् been affixed to bases like अक्ष. He has avoided the substitution of ण् for न् in this way, but, he has created an occasion for another difficulty viz. to have the break or pause (अवग्रह) after the base ending in अ against Vedic use. The author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, in fact, is in favour of such a pause after अ (See note 1 on p. 1).

² The recital of द् for घ् in the Saṁhitā pāṭha appears to be a simple mannerism and the restoration of the consonant घ् is but natural,

Padapāṭha, e. g. आ त् न इन्द्रः (I. 10.11, III. 81.1, IV. 32.1, VIII. 81.1), is recited in the Padapāṭha as आ | तु | नः | इन्द्रः. So also इमं मे वरुण शुधी हवमद्या च मृळय (I. 25.19) is split up as इमम् | मे | वरुण | शुधि | हवम् | अद्य | च | मृळय | The indeclinables lengthened generally are सु, जु, तु, व, मधु, अत्र, तत्र and others; while, the verbs lengthened are विद्म, चक्र, भरत, and others.¹ The word पुरुषः also is sometimes recited in the Saṁhitā-pāṭha as पूरुषः; e. g. विराजो अघि पूरुषः (X. 90.5), अतो ज्यायांश्च पूरुष (X. 90.3).

Section VII

(Dissertation on the peculiar features of the Padapāṭha)

सप्तमो विभागः (प्रपाठवैशिष्ट्यचर्चा)

६३. त्रयस्यैव त्र्यधिकानां वा पदानां संहितापाठे त्र्यधिकवारमावर्तने
पदपाठे तेषामग्रहर्षं समयः । अनुच्चारितानि
पदानि च गलत्पदानि ।

Samaya or conventional omission is the non-recital of three or more words in the Padapāṭha after they have occurred thrice in the same order as a group in the Saṁhitā

¹ For the sake of metre and rhythm, the final vowel of some indeclinables and verbal forms ending generally in अ, is many times lengthened in the *R̥gveda* hymns. Cf. क्वचि तुनुचमधुतत्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम्, अवेवस्तिच, निषातस्य च and अन्येषामग्नि दृश्यते (P. VI. 3. 133, 135, 136, 137). In the Padapāṭha, the original short vowel is restored. Cf. also *Vajrasaneyi Prātisākhya*, sūtras III. 96 to 129. In sūtra 129 a long list of verbs with their final vowel lengthened is given. It is interesting to note that verbs such as अविध्यत्, अरणत्, अरैक्, अयुनक् and a few more have their initial अ lengthened verily for the sake of metre and rhythm; these verbal forms with the initial vowel अ lengthened are, however, looked upon as unjustified and they are passed over in the Krama recital. See *Upalekhasūtra* Varga 2. A list of such verbs is also given in the *R̥k Prātisākhya* (II. 40-42). Note that this lengthening is called युति or युवन in the *R̥k Prātisākhya* where such words are called at length in Paṭalas 7, 8 and 9.

recital, e. g. बृहद्वेदेम विदथे सुवीराः (*R.V.* II. 28.11 etc.) or आदित्यैर्यौ-
तमश्विना (*R.V.* VIII. 35. 14-15). The words omitted in the Pada-
pāṭha to avoid further repetition after they have occurred
thrice in the same order, are called गलत्पद, गलित or even गलन्त.
They are not recited in the Padapāṭha.¹ This feature, although
observed by the traditional reciters of the Padapāṭha and noticed
in the manuscript copies of the Padpāṭha, is not noticed
by modern editors of the Padapāṭha.

६५. अनानुपूर्व्यसंहितायाः पदपाठे यथायोग्यं पदानि पठनीयानि ।

अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता is the name given to the rarely occurring
faulty portion of the Saṁhitā text where quite another word,
generally an indeclinable, is inserted between the two members
of a compound word, which may or may not be capable of a
division. Three instances of this अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता are given in the
Rk Prāṭisākhya.² The text शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं सहस्रात् (V. 2. 7) is
split into the Padapāṭha as शुनःऽशेषम् । चित् । निदितम् । सहस्रात्
Similarly, the text नरा वा शंसं पूषणमगोह्यम् (X. 64. 3) is recited

¹ The term समय is an old one which is mentioned in the *Rk Prāṭisākhya* (X. 12) where it is defined by the commentator Uvaṭa as पदपाठे कदाचित् पूर्वप्राप्तानां पुनःप्राप्त्यवसरे पाठप्रदर्शनपरित्यागः समयशब्देन व्यवहियते । परिलक्षानि तानि पदान्यपि तेन शब्देनोच्यन्ते. The term *samaya* thus, means omission as also omitted words. Generally three or more words repeated thrice are not repeated a fourth and farther times. Cf. त्रिपदाद्यावर्तमाने संक्रमः (*Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 168). The word संक्रम does not mean omission or omitted words. It means 'leaping' or 'jumping over' which implies omission. Uvaṭa remarks in his comment on sūtra 168 as त्रिपदप्रभृत्त्वा-
वर्तमाने ग्रन्थे संक्रमो भवति । आवर्तमानानि पदान्यतिक्रम्य अनावर्तमानेन पदेन सह
संधिर्भवतीत्यर्थः । and further on sūtra 170 adds त्रिपदाद्यावर्तमान इति यदुक्तं
तदनन्तरे पुनश्चे भवति । आनन्तर्यं चार्थकृतं शब्दकृतं च गृह्यते । For details, see
उवटभाष्य on *Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 168-177. Also see *Madhusūdanī Śikṣā* stanza
23 and the comment thereon.

² Cf. शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं, नरा वा शंसं पूषणम् । नरा च शंसं दैव्यं ता अनानु-
पूर्व्यसंहिताः (*Rk Prāt.* II 43). The instances only are given here in
the Text. The commentator Uvaṭa explains the term as : पदेषां त्रयाणां
अनानुपूर्व्येण संहिता नास्ति पदपाठक्रमानुसारेण संहितापाठो न भवतीत्यर्थः । अतस्त्वा
अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता उच्यन्ते ।

as नराशंसम् । वा । पवणम् । अगोह्यम्, so also, नरा च शंसं दैव्यं च धृतरि (IX. 86. 42) is split up as नराशंसम् । च । दैव्यम् । च । धृतरि । One complete *pada* after another complete one, and, not a *pada* into the middle of another one, is the order (आनुपूर्व्य) of the Samhitā, when it is broken, the Samhitā text is called अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता । Sometimes quite another word is inserted between the two parts of such a Dvandva compound in the dual number, as has both the parts showing the sense of the whole compound word, e g. चावा च भूमा जनुषस्तुजेते (I. 61.14) is recited in the Padapāṭha as चावा । च । भूमा । जनुष । तुजेते इति । So also चावा शोचिः पृथिवी अरोचयत् (I. 143. 2) as चावा । शोचिः । पृथिवी इति । अरोचयत् । So also चावा रक्षतं पृथिवी नो अभ्वात् (I. 185 2-8) as चावा रक्षतम् । पृथिवी इति । नः । अभ्वात् । In these instances चावा and पृथिवी are not joined together as चावापृथिवी by removing the words शोचिः and रक्षतम् from their midst, because चावा पृथिवी is not looked upon as a single compound word, but as two distinct words, चावा and पृथिवी each denoting 'Heaven and Earth' by the theory of युगपदधिकरणवचनता.¹

६६. पदस्यान्ते इतिकरणं वेष्टनमिङ्गनं प्रगृह्येभ्यश्च समासविग्रहे च ।

To recite, in the Padapāṭha, a पद by putting the word इति after it and thus binding it with the word इति in accentuation, is called वेष्टन or इङ्गन.² This वेष्टन is found in the case of words ending in ओ followed by अ, प्रगृह्य words, that is, words in the dual number ending in ई, ऊ or ए and compound words before they are shown split up with an *avagraha* between their two constituent parts as also अमी, अस्मे, ऊ and the like and indeclinables and words in the vocative case ending in ए and ओ e. g. इन्द्रासी इति इन्द्रासी² (VI. 59. 8).

¹ See note No. 3 on page 8.

² The term इङ्गन is an old one, used in the *Rk Prāśākhya*. Cf. अयन्तश्चेत्सुतम् (*Rk. Prāś.* 1. 35). Uvāṭa has explained the term इङ्गन as सावग्रह The term वेष्टन came to be used later on for इङ्गन. Cf. स्मिन्नेभ्यश्चदेव वेष्टनेभिधीयते (Uvāṭa on *Vāg. Prāt.* IV. 190). The

६७. उपसर्गभ्योपि तैत्तिरीयशाखायाम् ।

This *Vestana* by the indeclinable इति is practised in the Taittiriya branch of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* in the case of *Upasargas* e. g. प्रेति । अर्पयतु । एति । प्यायध्वम् ।

Section VIII

(Dissertation on the vocal recital of the Veda Texts).

अष्टमः खण्डः (वेदवाक्योच्चारणरीतिचर्चा)

६८. संधिकार्यैः संबद्धानि पदानि संहिता ।

The *Saṁhitā* text of the Veda is nothing else than the *padas* recited as joined together, by rules of coalescence. The definition given in the *Prātisākhya* works is पदप्रकृतिः संहिता. The compound पदप्रकृतिः can be dissolved as पदानि प्रकृतिर्यस्याः सा implying that the original text was metrically very sound, with each quarter of the stanza consisting of 8, 11 or 12 syllables, although rules of coalescence were sometimes ignored. The compound can also be dissolved as पदानां प्रकृतिः implying that the original text was one from which the present Pada text was prepared by reciting each word separately.¹

(Continued from the previous page)

term स्थितोपस्थित is used for the whole repeated word, with इति used between the two parts. For example see पुरोहितमिति पुरःस्थितम्. The whole phrase is called इक्षुय, वेष्टक, as also स्थितोपस्थित. The first part with इति at the end is called उपस्थित, while the latter which is without इति is called स्थित. If the latter part is a द्विखण्ड i. e. a compounded word or a word made of a base and affix with the affix liable to be shown as separate, then the word is shown as split up with अवग्रह observed between the two parts. Cf. पूर्वस्योत्तरसंहितस्य स्थितोपस्थितमवग्रहस्य (*Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 190).

¹ The word संहिता is defined in the *Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya* as वर्णानामेकप्राणयोगः संहिता (*Vāj. Prāt.* I. 158). The rule पूर्वोत्तरः संहितः meaning 'the former word joined with the latter one with rules of coalescence observed when applicable, is called संहित' defines the *Kramasaṁhitā*. Cf. पूर्वोत्तरः संहितः । पदाविच्छेदोसंहितः (*Vāj. Prāt.* I. 155 156), Pāṇini defines संहिता as परः संनिकर्षः संहिता (P. I. 4. 109),

६९. संहितापाठे ऋगर्थे विरामः ।

In vocal utterance, a full stop is observed at the end of half-the-stanza i. e. two quarters (*pādas*) where the sentence also is generally complete.¹ The final letter of the last word of the second quarter is never combined with the initial letter of the third quarter by rules of coalescence.

७०. ऋगर्थमध्ये स्वरितात् प्रचयाद्वा नन्तरं पदस्यान्ते
ईषद्विरामः, न पदमध्ये कदापि । तथैव पादान्ते ।

Slight stop is observed at the end of a *svarita* vowel or *pracaya* vowel as also at the end of a foot, but never in the middle of a word. Traditional reciters, however, go on without any small stop right up to the end of half the verse, e. g. the line यच्चिद्धि ते विशो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतम् is recited without a stop. The verse may be recited with the following divisions— यच्चिद्धि ते; विशो यथा; प्र देव वरुण; व्रतम् ।

७१. स्वरितोच्चारणमीषत्प्रलम्बनेन कुर्वन्ति ऋक्संहितापाठकाः ।

The traditional reciters, especially the followers of the *Bṛveda*, recite the *svarita* vowel as slightly prolonged. This prolongation results sometimes into the utterance of a short vowel as that of a long vowel, e. g. आग्नीमीक्षे पुरोहीतम्, where ई in मी is heard like a *pluta* vowel and हि in हितम् as long ही. The elongated utterance of a long vowel sometimes results into a small pause after it, detaching the part ending with the *svarita* from the following part of the word, e. g. यत्ते सोम गवांसिरो यवांसिरो भजामहे । वातापि पीव इन्द्रव is heard as यत्तेसोम

¹ In *Bṛveda* the Gāyatrī verses consist of three quarters where, for the sake of full stop, the first two *pādas* can be taken as ऋगर्थे and the third one also is looked upon as ऋगर्थे. There are a few verses where the first *pāda*, made up of 8, 11 or 12 syllables, is independent in sense. Sometimes a verse or a stanza consists of 5 or more *pādas*. What exactly is to be understood by ऋगर्थे for the purpose of full-stop, is made traditionally clear in the Krama recital where the last word of ऋगर्थे is enclosed by इति and repeated. For details, see *Ved. Prā.* (IV. 196-197), also *Upalekhasūtrabhāṣya* on अर्धचान्ते (*Upalekhasūtra* III, 10).

यनांश्चिरो यवांश्चिरो भजांश्चदे । वातांश्चिरो व इङ्गव which goes to the length of making the perspicuous sense of the stanza very obscure, even to an intelligent listener.

७२. हावसेषु परेष्वनुस्वारस्यानुनासिको यञ्जुषि ।

When *anusvāra* is followed by the consonant ह, व, or ङ (nasal sound) is heard instead of the *anusvāra* in the vocal recitals of the followers of the *Yajurveda*,¹ e. g. पुंसव एवेद सर्वम् (X. 90.2), अतो ज्यायोश्च-पूर्वः (X. 90.3),

७३. इवपदमसुमस्ते ष्टयक्त्वेन पठन्ति तैत्तिरियाः ।

In Vedic usage, the indeclinable इव is taken as compounded with the previous word which retains its case affix. The followers of the Taittirīyāsakhā look upon the indeclinable इव and its preceding word as separate *padas*,² e. g. दिवि चक्षुराततम् (तै. सं. १।३।२) is split up into Padapāṭha as दिवि । इव । चक्षुः । आततमित्या-ततम् । The fact that the indeclinable इव is सर्वानुदात्त may be at the root of the convention that it is compounded with the previous word which has retained its case-affix. The case of a compound with इव is similar to the case of a preposition or *upasarga* which is सर्वानुदात्त and looked upon as compounded with the following verb in case the latter has retained its accent, e. g. अधिक्षियन्ति भुवनानि विश्वा (वाज. ५।१९) is split up into Padapāṭha as अधिक्षियन्तीत्यधिक्षियन्ति. See also अनुस्वरन्ति.

७४. उदयोर्लळहौ च व्यञ्जनं परं न चेत् ।

Similarly, in the *Rgveda* recital the consonants ह and ङ are recited as ल and ल्ह provided they are not immediately

¹ For details see अनुनासिका चोपधा and the following sūtras (*Vaj. Prāt.* IV. 4 to 11).

² The followers of यजुर्वेद do not observe the compound with इव. Hence it is, that the word नित्य as found in the Vārttika इवेन नित्यसमासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च is omitted in some copies. As इव is सर्वानुदात्त, there is no question of its accent affecting the accents of the adjacent words.

followed by a consonant,¹ e. g. ईळे, ईळित्, ईळ्यः मीळहे, मीळहेषु, साळहा. (VII. 56.23), as also ईड्यः, ईड्यम्, मीडवः, मीडवान् and others.

७५. समस्तपदानां वेष्टनं विना अवग्रहयुक्तो विग्रहस्तथैव ।

Compound words are recited as split up with an *avagraha* between them in the Padapāṭha e. g. अग्निम् । ईळे । पुरःहितम् । यज्ञस्य । देवम् । ऋत्विजम् । होतारम् । रत्नधातमम् । See similarly कृत्विः । सत्यः । चित्रश्रवस्तमः. The reciters of the *Yajurveda* use the word इति after a compound word and then show the separate parts of it with *avagraha* between them. This they practise even in the case of hymns taken from the *Rigveda*. For example, they recite पुरोहितमिति पुरःहितम् । or चित्रश्रवस्तममिति चित्रश्रवस्तमम् ।

७६. प्रगृह्यस्य समस्तपदस्य वेष्टनानन्तरमवग्रहयुक्तो विग्रहः ।

In the case of compound words which are *pragrhya* and hence have got the word इति used after them in the Padapāṭha, they are shown split up after the word इति and an *avagraha* is shown between the two parts if they are eligible to be split up² e. g. दीर्घमी इति दीर्घिः । समीची इति समुर्हीची । प्रचेत इति प्रचेतः । विश्वजन्ये इति विश्वजन्ये । But see इन्द्रामी इति । विश्वामित्रजमदमी इति । इन्द्रामी इति and others where the compound words are not eligible to be split up.

७७. यकारस्य पदादौ जकारः क्वचित् षकारस्यापि स्थाने खकारः शुक्ले यजुषि ।

As a provincial mannerism, ज is substituted for य by reciters of the *Suklayajurveda*, provided it stands at the

¹ Cf. डहौ लळहावेकेषाम् (*Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 146). In some cases in the *Yajurveda* recital also, there is this substitution of ङ् and ञ् observed ; for example see इळे, अषाळहा. Uvata observes here that the word एकेषाम् in the Sūtra implies that the followers of the Mādhyandina branch never read ङ् and ञ् for इ and ए.

² Cf. प्रगृह्यं चर्चायामितिना पदेषु (*Vāj. Prāt.* IV. 18) explained by उवट as प्रगृह्यत्तं चर्चायामितिना परभूतायामितिना आगामिकेन व्यवधीयते । चर्चाशब्देन इतिकरणात्परतो या तस्यैव पदस्य द्विरुक्तिः सोच्यते ।

beginning of a *pada*. Similarly, at a few places *स्* is recited in the place of *ष्*, e. g. जज्ञेन जज्ञमयजन्त देवाः ।

७८. क्वचित्तिरीया निमित्तं विना नकारस्य स्थाने
णकारमुच्चारयन्ति । षदान्ते नकारस्य द्वित्वं च ।
तथैवानुनासिकात्परस्याकारस्य रुडागमम् ।

In some places in Southern India reciters of the Taittirīya Branch of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda* pronounce *ष्* instead of *न्*, e. g. एणाः for एना; अग्नि for अग्नि and so on.¹ Sometimes they recite double *न्* instead of the single one, at the end of the foot of a verse, e. g. तं यज्ञं बर्हिषि प्रौक्षन्. Similarly, the vowel *अ* following an *anunāsika* letter is pronounced with *रु* prefixed to it, e. g. अग्ने क्त्वा कर्तुं रजुं (पवमानसूक्त).

७९. नराशंसादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ।

The words *नराशंस* and others should be understood as they are actually found recited in the *Padapāṭha*. Sometimes words which are well known as derived, are not found split up in the *Padapāṭha*, e. g. *नराशंसम्*, *ऋत्विजम्*, *प्रत्यङ्ग*, *तस्करः*, *विधाहा*, *वीरुधः*, *गोपा*, *संवत्सरः* and the like. Possibly, they were looked upon as underived words in specific senses which were not their literal senses. On the other hand, the words *जातवेदस्* and *जमदग्नि* are found split up as *जातस्वेदस्* and *जमत्सग्नि*. Some *Dvandva* compounds are not shown split up although they are not *Devatādvandva* compounds, e. g. *धुनीचुसुरी*, *सत्यानृते*, *अजावयः*, *उभयादतः*, (X. 90.10), *साशनानशने* (X. 90.4). Possibly they are taken in a group sense, which, being restricted, is not the literal one. There are peculiar compounds like *पृष्टिमायासः*, *इहेहमातरा* with verbal or indeclinable forms inside. Possibly they were picked up from the then spoken languages as they occurred therein e. g. *पृष्टि* (Come here), *मा यासः* (Don't go) were used together. So also *इहेह* (here, here), *मातरः* (respected mothers) were used together. There are certain words which go against Pāṇini's grammar wherein they are specifically mentioned as derived

¹ Bhartṛhari observes in his *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* that on some occasions the followers of the Taittirīya school pronounce *अग्नि* for *अग्नि*,

in a particular way which goes against the Padapāṭha, e. g. स्वप्नक्, तृष्णक्, घृष्णक्, अहंयुः, शुभंयुः, अक्षण्वान् and the like. Pāṇini derives स्वप्नक् and तृष्णक् by the application of the *kr̥t* affix नजिङ् (नज्) to the roots स्वप् and तृष् by the rule स्वप्तिर्नोर्नजिङ् (III. 2.172). घृष्णक् should be derived in the same way, adds the Vārttikakāra. The forms found in Veda are अस्वप्नसजः, तृष्णसजः and घृष्णसजः which are nominative plural forms. They are Nominative plural forms according to Pāṇini also, but the *avagraha* cannot be explained according to Pāṇini. The words have to be taken as compound words having जः as the *uttarapada*. स्वप्नजा, तृष्णजा and घृष्णजा are to be taken as derived from the root जन् with स्वप्, तृष्ण and घृष्ण as *upapadas*, just as the word गोषा is derived from the root सन् with गो as *upapada* (cf. गोषा इन्दो नृषा असि with गोप्साः । इन्दो इति । नृसाः । असि । as the Padapāṭha). The Nominative plural forms ending in ज are to be taken as rather irregular. Pāṇini has derived the words अहंयुः, कंयुः, शंयुः, and शुभंयुः by applying the *taddhita* affix यु (युस्) to the words अहम्, कम्, शम् and शुभम् which, by virtue of the mute letter स् applied to the affix, can be looked upon as *padas*, and hence, can have the letter स् turned into *anusvāra*. The words अहंयुः, शंयुः and शुभंयुः occur in the *R̥gveda* and the Padapāṭha has अहंस्युः (I. 167.7), शंयू इवेति शंयूश्च (X. 143.6) and शुभमस्यवः (X. 78.7). It appears that these words in the Veda are derived from the denominative roots, अहंय, शंय and शुभंय by the application of the affix उ just like गन्ययु, त्वायु and others. The words अक्षण्वन्तः (X. 71.7), अस्थन्वन्तस् (I. 164.4), रथिन्तमः (VI. 44.1), इत्युहन्तमस् (VI. 16.15, VIII. 39.8, X. 170.2) and the like, are split up in the Padapāṭha as अक्षण्वन्तः, अस्थन्वन्तस्, रथिन्तमः, इत्युहन्तमस्, where the nasal letter न् is seen before the affixes वत् and त्म. According to Pāṇini, as the letter न् is prefixed as नुद् to the affixes, *avagraha* should have been put before the letter न् which forms a part of the affix वत्. The Mahābhāṣyākāra has accordingly advised to that effect in his comment on the Sūtra अनो नुद् (P. VIII. 2.16). See note 1.

८०. पदपाठसंकेता मते क्रमपाठे विकृतिषु च प्रवर्तन्ते ।

The conventions given above, are observed in the Krama recital which followed the Pada recital and thereafter in the eight developments of the Padapāṭha and the Kramapāṭha¹ viz. जटा, माला, शिखा, रेखा, ध्वज, दण्ड, रथ and घन. Krama is defined as—

क्रमो द्वाभ्यामभिक्रम्य प्रत्यादास्योत्तरं तयोः ।

उत्तरेणोपसंदध्यात् तथार्धेन समापयेत् ॥ (ऋक्संहितास्य X. 1)

क्रम is the recital of two consecutive *padas* in the right order, then taking the second only, and joining it with the third, then taking the third and joining it with the fourth and so on, upto the end of half the stanza. If the consecutive *padas* अग्निम्, ईळे, पुरोहितम्, यज्ञस्य, देवम् and ऋत्विजम् are taken as *a b c d e f*, then the Krama is *ab, bc, cd, (c), de, ef (f)* etc. अग्निमीळे । ईळे पुरोहितम् । पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । पुरोहितमिति पुरःहितम् । यज्ञस्य देवम् । देवम् ऋत्विजम् । ऋत्विजमिति ऋत्विजम् । The pairs are to be recited as separate units, a compound word is to be shown as dissolved immediately after that pair in which it stands first and is no longer to be repeated, and at the end of the last pair, the last word is recited as enclosed with इति and then recited again as the end.

¹ The Kramapāṭha was composed possibly soon after the Padapāṭha. In Pāṇinisūtra क्रमादिभ्यो बुञ् (IV. 2.61), which is under the Adhikāra-sūtra तदधीते तद्वेद (IV. 2.59), the word क्रमक is formed in the sense of 'a student reciting the Krama'. As the word क्रम standing for the Krama-recital anticipates the Pada recital, it can be said definitely that the Padapāṭha and the Kramapāṭha were in existence at the time of Pāṇini. The word अवग्रह meaning 'pause' and forming a feature of the Padapāṭha, mentioned in the rule छन्दस्युदवग्रहात् (P. VIII. 4. 26) confirms the existence of Padapāṭha before Pāṇini. The eight other recitals जटा, माला etc., which are based on these two recitals, must have come into existence soon afterwards, as Vyādi, a scholar of Veda and Vyākaraṇa, who was related to Pāṇini, has written a short treatise on the eight recitals जटा, माला etc. known by the name विकृतिवल्ली. For detailed information on these eight recitals, see विकृतिकौमुदी of गङ्गाधरभट्टाचार्य, जटापटलदीपिका of दयाशङ्कर and अष्टविकृतिविवरण of Madhusūdana.

Jata is defined by Hayagrīva as--

क्रमे यथोक्तं पदजातमेव द्विरभ्यमेदुत्तरमेव पूर्वम् ।

अभ्यस्य पूर्वं च तथोत्तरे पदेऽप्यन्तमेवं हि जटाभिधीयते ॥

(हयग्रीवकारिका १)

It is defined by Vyādi as--

ब्रूयात् क्रमविपर्यासक्रममीदृश्विधिं दिशेत् ।

जटाभ्यां विकृतिं धीमान् पिजाय क्रमलक्षणम् ॥ (विकृतिवह्नी ६)

In the Jata recital two *padas* are to be recited in the right order, then in the reverse order, and then in the right order as : *ab ba ab, be ab be, cd de cd, de cd de, ef fe ef,* and so on. The rest is to be done as in the *Krama*.

Mala or *Kramamala* is defined as -

ब्रूयात् क्रमविपर्यासावर्धस्यादिनोन्ततः ।

अन्ते चादिं नयेदेवं क्रममालेति कीर्तिता ॥ (विकृतिवह्नी २१)

If *a, b, c, d, e* and *f* are the *padas* of the hymn अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् and () is the sign of the *restama*, the *Kramamala* can be described as : *ab, (f), ba, fe, cd, ed, (e), de, de, cb, ef, (e), (f), ba.*

Sikha is defined as,

पदोत्तरां शिवांसं व जटामायाः प्रचक्षते । (विकृतिवह्नी २२)

Sikha is but an extension of *Jata*. It can be illustrated in the case of the hymn अग्निमीळे as : *abbaabbe, baabbaa, cddceda, (e), deebdef eeffef (f).*

Iekha or *Bekha* is defined as -

क्रमाद्विचिचतुः पञ्चपदक्रममुदाहरेत् ।

पृथक् पृथग्विपर्यस्य रेखामाहुः पुनः क्रमात् ॥ (विकृतिवह्नी २३)

This variety is difficult to recite and illustrate, as the examples of द्विक्रम, विक्रम, चतुःक्रम and पञ्चक्रम are to be chosen and arranged thereon.

Phaja is defined as :

भूयादादेः क्रमं सम्यगन्तादुत्तरयेदिति । -

कर्णे वा क्रचि वा यत्र पठनं स ध्वजः स्मृतः ॥ (विकृतिवह्नी २४)

This variety is also difficult to recite and illustrate, as it requires the *Krama* recital from the beginning of a hymn mixed with the same, commencing from the end.

दण्ड is defined as :

क्रममुक्त्वा विपर्यस्य पुनश्च क्रममुत्तरम् ।

अर्धर्चदिवमुक्तोर्यं क्रमदण्डोभिधीयते ॥ (विकृतिवह्नी २५)

This recital also is difficult for recital and illustration.

दण्ड is defined as :

पादसोर्ध्वसो वापि सङ्कोक्त्या दण्डवद्वयः । (विकृतिवह्नी २६)

As two hymns of equal number of *padas* are to be chosen and recited together, this variety also is difficult for illustration and citation.

घन is defined as :

शिखामुक्त्वा विपर्यस्य पुनस्त्रिपदमुच्चरेत् ।

शिखाजटाघनः प्रोक्तः इत्यष्टौ विकृति पठेत् ॥ (मधुसूदनी शिक्षा ५५)

This Ghana variety is difficult to recite and illustrate too; but, it is in the traditional practice. The recital is rather grave, but at the same time it is sonorous and charming. If अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् is put as *a b c d e f* as far as the *padas* are concerned, the Ghana recital is:— *ab ba, abc cba abc, bcbbcd dob bod, cd, dc, cde, edc, cde, (c), de, ed, def, fed, def, fe ef (f)* In the Ghana variety of half the stanza which is to be taken as a unit for Ghana, as for example, अग्निम् ईळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवम् ऋत्विजम्, the word अग्निम् occurs five times, ईळे occurs ten times, पुरोहितम् occurs thirteen times, यज्ञस्य also thirteen times, then in a descending order देवम् occurs ten times and ऋत्विजम् five times, and then at the end, the last word ऋत्विजम् is rounded up by इति. In the middle, the compound word पुरोहितम् (*c*) is rounded up and dissolved after it has been recited for the last time. The Ghana recital of समिधाग्निं दुवस्यत घृतैर्बोधयतातिथिम् is as follows:— समिधाग्निमग्निं समिधा समिधाग्निं दुवस्यत दुवस्यताग्निं समिधा समिधाग्निं दुवस्यत । समिधेति समऽइधा । अग्निं दुवस्यत दुवस्यताग्निमग्निं दुवस्यत घृतैर्घृतैर्दुनस्यताग्निमग्निं दुवस्यत घृतैः । दुवस्यत घृतैर्घृतैर्दुवत दुवस्यत घृतैर्बोधयत । बोधयत घृतैर्बुवस्यत दुवस्यत घृतैर्बोधयत घृतैर्बोधयत बोधयत घृतैर्घृतैर्बोधयतातिथिमतिथि बोधयत घृतैर्घृतैर्बोधयतातिथिम् । अतिथिं बोधयत बोधयतातिथिम् । अतिथिमित्यतिथिम् ॥ The Ghana recital of अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् । होतारं रत्नधातमम् (*Rigveda* I. 1.1) given by Madhusūdanamuni in his *Aṣṭavikṛtibhāṣana*, is as follows:— अग्निमीळे ईळेग्निमग्निमीळे

पुरोहितम् । पुरोहितमीळंशिमशिमिके पुरोहितम् । ईके पुरोहितं पुरोहितमीळ ईके पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । यज्ञस्य पुरोहितमीळ ईके पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य यज्ञस्य पुरोहितं पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवम् । देवं यज्ञस्य पुरोहितं पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवम् । पुरोहितमिति पुरःऽहितम् । यज्ञस्य देव देवं यज्ञस्य यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् । ऋत्विजं देवं यज्ञस्य यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् । देवमृत्विजं मृत्विजं देवं देवमृत्विजम् । ऋत्विजं देवं देवमृत्विजम् । ऋत्विजमिस्थित्विजम् ॥ होतारं रत्नधातमं रत्नधातमं होतारं होतारं रत्नधातमम् । रत्नधातमं होतारं होतारं रत्नधातमम् । रत्नधातममिति रत्न-धातमम् ॥

घन is defined by Vyāhi as :

अन्तक्रमं पठेत्पूर्वमादिपर्यन्तमानयत् ।

अर्धद्विक्रमं वयेदन्तं घनमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ (विहृतिवह्नी २७)

This Ghanā recital is illustrated by means of the verse
 ३ ण इन्द्रो महे तर्न ऊर्मि व विभ्रदर्षमि (*Rigveda* IX, 14.1) as follows:—
 अर्धसीत्यर्षमि । प्र णः । विभ्रदर्षमि । न इन्द्रो । न विभ्रत् । इन्द्रो महे । ऊर्मि न ।
 इन्द्रो इतीन्द्रो । महे तने । तन ऊर्मिम् । इन्द्रो महे । न विभ्रत् । इन्द्रो इतीन्द्रो ।
 विभ्रदर्षमि । न इन्द्रो । अर्धसीत्यर्षमि । प्र णः ॥ (विहृतिकौमुदी).

शौचकीयं प्रातिशाख्यं तथान्यार्पिकृतानि च ।

अर्धतिय पदपाठस्य कृता चर्चा यथासति ॥ १ ॥

संशोधोद्धृतवाक्यानि संदर्भैरनुयोजिता ।

अद्भूतभाषार्णितयः व्याख्यया विशदीकृता ॥ २ ॥

प्रसादीनभक्तं व्याप्यग्रहवन्विन्दु (१८९५) वत्सरे ।

शांके ज्येष्ठे समारब्धा ध्रावणे च समापिता ॥ ३ ॥

मयेयं काशिनाथेन वामुदेवस्य स्तुता ।

अभ्यंकरोपाङ्गेण पुण्यस्थये नगरे वरे ॥ ४ ॥

असायामृषिपद्भ्यां शुभायां मन्दवासरे ।

भ्रण्डारकर-संस्थाने प्रेमपूर्वं समप्येते ॥ ५ ॥

अद्यपि किञ्चिदधीति वैदेस्मि तथापि धार्ष्ट्यमस्तीदम् ।

श्रेष्ठार्थैकरण्यमार्गं सौलभ्यं स्यादयं हेतुः ॥ ६ ॥

अन्येभ्योऽर्थः कृतः कामसंचिदथा सायमादिभिः ।

अर्थैरमुपकुला स्यात् यथाथैज्ञानकल्पने ॥ ७ ॥

३ इति वेदपदपाठचर्चा समाप्ता ॥

उपलेखसूत्रम्

(भारद्वाजबृहस्पतिप्रोक्तम्)

UPALEKHASŪTRAM

(by Bhāradvāja Bṛhaspati)

INTRODUCTION

This edition of one hundred and thirtysix Upalekha-sūtras is based upon three manuscript copies, one belonging to Veda-mūrti Bhalchandra Bhatta Karambelkar of Poona which is styled as P, another belonging to Veda-mūrti Maruti-bowa Bapat of Satara styled as S, and the third from the Ghalashasi (Vighasāśī) family of Karād, (now in the possession of the Vaidik-Saṁshodhan Mandala of Poona) styled as K. A printed copy edited by Shri Venkataramashastri referred to here as V was also consulted, which, besides being inaccurate at many places, has dropped altogether the third chapter as also an important portion of the treatise at the end, which discusses the title *upalekha*. The Poona Ms has 12 folios with 10 lines on each side. The Satara Ms has 8 folios with 12 lines on each side, while the Karad Ms, which contains only the Sūtra portion, has 5 folios with 8 lines on each side.

There is not given the name or the date of the author of the Sūtras in any one of the manuscripts. The copies P, S and V contain a short gloss which is named Bhāṣya, whose author or date is also not mentioned. This Bhāṣya is not printed in the present edition, as it is not of much use, and is comparatively a modern work. An explanation of the Sūtras in English is given with many instances below the Sūtras. Many of the instances are picked up from the Bhāṣya where neither references are given, nor accents marked. They are however supplied wherever possible in the present edition.

The Sūtras appear to have been composed a few centuries after the Prātiśākhya works in the Sūtra period as can be seen from some indirect references to these works. The word भारद्वाज occurs in the colophon of the Bhāṣya in Ms K., while

the word बृहदाचार्य occurs in the colophon of Ms P. The text of the colophons is very corrupt here, and it cannot be stated definitely whether these words refer to the author of the present work or to one of the traditional preceptors of the Pada and other recitals of the *Rgveda Samhitā*. Vyāḍi, an eminent ancient scholar of Veda and Vyākaraṇa, who is believed to have been related to Pāṇini, refers to three great preceptors in the line of ancient preceptors of the *Rgveda* and its recitals viz. बृहद्शाकल्य, शाकलाचार्य and भारद्वाजबृहस्पति to whom he respectfully bows down at the beginning of his work विकृतिवल्ली. The text of Vyāḍi is as follows:—

नमामि शाकलाचार्यं शाकल्यस्थविरं तथा ।
ब्रह्मविद्यागुरुं श्रेष्ठं भारद्वाजं बृहस्पतिम् ॥ (विकृतिवल्ली St. 3).

The epithet ब्रह्मविद्यागुरु here, may wellnigh show that the sage named बृहस्पति in the family of भरद्वाज was the direct preceptor of Vyāḍi in his study of ब्रह्मविद्या or वेदविद्या. If the line of reasoning given above is acceptable, भारद्वाजबृहस्पति can be looked upon as the author of the present work viz. उपलेखसूत्र and the date of Pāṇini as his date.

The work is divided into 8 sections to which the name *varga* is given. The first chapter gives the alphabets and deals with a few technical terms which, are necessary for the topics discussed in the work. The second section quotes passages from the *Rgveda*, in which words, which although grammatically ncorrect, are recited so in the Samhitāpāṭha, but recited correctly in the Padapāṭha. In these cases, the incorrect word is taken together with the preceding and the following correct words in the Kramapāṭha, which consists of three words and is consequently named *trikrama*. In this *trikrama* the word preceding the incorrect word, the incorrect word and the word succeeding the incorrect word are recited as one unit and the third word only is taken and joined with the following word to form the next unit. The inaccurate word, in short, is recited only once in the Kramapāṭha. The inaccuracy of these words was probably due to mannerisms of the spoken language or exigencies of metre. These

irregular words in the *Saṁhitā* are not given in the word-index of the printed edition of the *Rk Saṁhitā*. It is hoped they will be given in the next edition for facility of reference. The third section enumerates verses of three feet and discusses where half-the-verse ends in such verses.

The fourth section deals with *pragr̥hya* words, i. e. the words which have the indeclinable इति placed after them for showing some peculiar feature of them such as grammatical irregularity (असाधुत्व), or prohibition of coalescence (प्रगृह्यत्व), or standing compounded (समस्तत्व). Such words are generally recited before इति as in the *Saṁhitāpāṭha* and after इति as in the *Padapāṭha*. The word after इति is to be shown split up by a pause if it is recognised as divisible into parts. The fifth section enumerates those cases where the word before इति is to be recited as in the *Padapāṭha*, in spite of the general rule that the word before इति should be read as in the *Saṁhitāpāṭha* and the word after इति as in the *Padapāṭha*. The sixth section specifies those cases where words in the *Saṁhitāpāṭha* have undergone mutilation by augments or substitutes and states that the original form of the word is to be recited before इति as also after इति, and the word after इति should be split up if it is liable to be split up. The seventh section deals with the coalescence of the initial vowel इ of इति with the preceding letter. The eighth section deals with the coalescence of the final vowel of इति with the following vowel. It also discusses the changes in accents due to coalescence and draws attention to those cases where the *svarita* vowel is uttered with a quaver in the *Saṁhitāpāṭha* and uttered without it in the *Padapāṭha*.

The word उपलेख in the title उपलेखसूत्र is rather an unusual one and its exact sense is difficult to be given. Lekhā or Rekhā is one of the eight varieties of the recital of the Veda text viz. जटा, माला, शिखा, रेखा, ध्वज, दण्ड, रथ and घन and the word उपलेख can be taken to mean the basis of लेखा i. e. क्रम (लेखाया उपजीव्यः) and the term उपलेखसूत्र can be interpreted as क्रमसूत्र

which, in fact, it is. The last few lines of the Bhāṣya, which discuss the word उपलेख, although very incorrectly written in all copies, show that the word is taken by the Bhāṣyakāra to mean written as helpful to the study of Veda.

It is hoped that this short manual will be a suitable auxiliary work to the *Vedapadapāthacarcā* as it discusses fully the topics त्रिक्रम, परिग्रह, अवग्रह and कम्प, which are dealt with in general outlines along with several other topics in the *Vedapadapāthacarcā*.

Chaitra Shukla 1 }
 Śaka 1896 }
 March 24, 1974 }

K. V. Abhyankar

UPALEKHASŪTRAM

उपलेखसूत्रम् *

Section I

(प्रथमो वर्गः)

संज्ञाविशेषाः

१. अकारादयो द्वादश स्वराः ॥

अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, ॠ, ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are the 12 vowels. The number of letters and the order in which they are given much differ in different ancient works. The *Śivasūtras* give nine vowels and 34 consonants. The *Śekṣā* of Pāṇini gives 21 vowels and 43 consonants including some phonemic units like *anusvāra*, *visarga*, ऌ (दुःस्पृष्ट) and others. The *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* adds only four अनुस्वार, विसर्ग, जिह्वामूलीय and उपध्मानीय to the 9 vowels and 34 consonants given in the *Śivasūtras*. The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* mentions 16 vowels and 36 other letters. The *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* mentions 23 vowels including long (दीर्घ) and prolated (प्लुत) varieties of vowels and 42 other letters; while the *Ṛk-tantra* gives 14 vowels, and 43 other letters. The author here does not include the *pluta* variety of vowels although he has mentioned the word *pluta* in Sūtra I. 10. Possibly there was no प्लुत variety in the *Ṛgveda*. The term प्लुत was used in the sense of दीर्घ. Only one example of *pluta* is given by scholars in the *Ṛgveda* viz. the vowel ई which is believed to be *pluta* and recited as such in the verse नासदासीन्नो सदासीत् तदानीम् (*ṚV. X. 129.1*).

* Three Mss. and one printed edition published by Vānīvilāsa Press, Shrirāṅgam, have been consulted in fixing the text of this work. The Ms. designated P belongs to Shri Bhalchandrahabhatta Karambelkar of Poona. The one, designated S, was made available to me by Shri Buva Bapat from the collection in the Veda Pāṭhaśālā, Satara; while the third, designated K, was made available to me by the Vaidika Saṁshodhana Mandala, Poona. Mss. P and S and the printed edition (V) contain the Bhāṣya of an anonymous author which, being comparatively modern, is not incorporated in this edition.

२. शिष्टं व्यञ्जनम् ।

The remaining letters, leaving aside the 12 vowels, are consonants which are mentioned below.

३. ककारादयः^१ पञ्च वर्गाः स्पर्शाः ।

The 25 class consonants क ख ... भूम् are called स्पर्शः.

४. यकारादयश्चतस्रोन्तस्थाः ।

The consonants य, र, ल, व are given the name अन्तस्थ i. semi-vowels.

५. शकारादयोष्टा ऊष्माणः^२ ।

श, ष, स and ह as also ऌ क् (जिह्वामूलीय), ऌ प् (उपध्मानीय), विसर्ग and अनुस्वार are the eight *ūṣman* letters. The order of words in the Sūtra would rather be शकारादयः ऌ क् ऌ पौ विसर्गानुस्वारौ (च षष्ट ऊष्माणः.

६. प्रथमद्वितीया वर्गानामूष्माणश्च हकारवर्जमघोषवन्तः ।

The first and second consonants of each of the five classes of consonants, as also श्, ष् and स् possess no *ghoṣa* property.

७. शिष्टं घोषवत् ।

The remaining consonants are possessed of the property of *ghoṣa*. They are called sonants. They are the third, fourth and fifth consonants of each class, as also the semi-vowels य, र, ल and व्.

८. ह्रस्वमेकमात्रम् ।

The time taken by the utterance of a short vowel is one *mātrā* or *mora*.

९. दीर्घं द्विमात्रम् ।

A long vowel takes two *mātrās* as time for its utterance.

१०. प्लुतं त्रिमात्रम् ।

The time taken by a prolated vowel for its utterance is three *mātrās*. The word प्लुत was used in the Prātiśākhya works in the sense of lengthened. A further lengthening of the long vowel, which is called protraction or prolation, came into

१ P reads ककाराद्याः,

२ K V add ऌ क् ऌ पौ विसर्गानुस्वारौ,

practice later on, for which the word *pluta* became relegated, while the word दीर्घ remained in use for simple lengthening.

११. व्यञ्जनं चार्धमात्रम्^१ ।

The time taken by a consonant for its utterance is half a *mātrā*.

१२. स्वरभक्तिश्चाक्रमे ।

Similarly, the vowel-cognate also takes half a *mātrā* time for its utterance. When, by rules of coalescence the vowel ऋ is changed into अर् or आर्, the consonant र् is uttered like र्क्क if it is followed by a consonant. This additional pronunciation of र् like ऋ is named स्वरभक्ति. For example, in अदर्शि, कर्हि and the like, र् appears to be uttered like र्क्क and, instead of having one *mātrā* as the time of its utterance on the analogy of short vowels this ऋ which is called *svarabhakti* takes only half a *mātrā* time for its utterance.

१३. क्रमे त्वर्धोना ।

If, however, it is followed by a conjunct consonant, it takes only a quarter of a *mātrā* time for its utterance e. g. अदर्श्यायती (RV. VII. 81.1). Here the vowel cognate (स्वरभक्ति) requires only a quarter of a *mātrā* time for its utterance.

१४. क्रमो द्वैपदशः^२ ।

The word क्रम in this Sūtra stands for the recital of the Veda-texts by means of pairs of words. This recital, called क्रम, was a later development of the Pada recital, wherein each *pada* was recited twice, once in each of the two pairs, the second *pada* in a pair becoming the first *pada* in the next pair e. g. अग्निमीळे । ईळे पुरोहितम् । पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य । This technical term Krama in the sense of the recital, described above, came into use as allied to the older word Krama in the sense of doubling as used in the previous Sūtra.

1 K P V read व्यञ्जनमर्धमात्रम्.

2 S reads क्रमो द्वौ पदशः.

१५. तयोरुत्तरेणोत्तरपदं संदध्यात्^१ ।

The method of the formation of Krama is given here. Out of the two words of a pair, the second word should be taken out and joined with the third one to form the next pair, and this process is to go on upto the end of half the stanza ; i. e. two quarters or *pādas* out of four quarters.

१६. आर्धचान्तात्^२ ।

This Krama recital should be taken continuously pair after pair upto the end of half-the-stanza ; e. g. if half the stanza e. g. अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् has got 6 words, the Krama recital would be as follows : *ab | bc | cd | de | ef | f* stop.

१७. ऊमितीमित्याकारे,^३ षत्वसंहिते स्विति पदे नः परे, नावस्येत् ।

The text of the Sūtra is not very accurate in the copies P and V which read ऊमिति मित्याकारे ; the word मिति gives no suitable sense. Ms. S. reads the Sūtra correctly as given above which means “ in forming the pairs for Krama, one should not end the pair after the indeclinable उ which has the consonant म् mute (in the Saṃhitā) i. e. which stands as उ in the Saṃhitā text, but which is recited as ऊम् i. e. ऊँ in the Pada-pāṭha ; similarly, one should not end the pair and stop after ईम् which is read as ईँ in the Saṃhitā recital and ईम् in the Pada recital, nor after आ, nor after the indeclinable सु followed by नः and appearing as सु i. e. with स changed into ष ”. For instances see यमी गर्भसृतावृधः (*R.V. IX. 102.6*), ए रिणन्ति बर्हिषि (*R.V. IX. 71.6*) and समी रेभासः (*R.V. VIII. 97.11*). The indeclinable उ and the word ईम् with म् dropped in the Saṃhitā text, are meant here. The Sūtra, in short, means that one should not stop after उ when it is given as ऊँ or ऊम् in the Pada-pāṭha, nor after ईँ when it is given as ईमिति

1 V gives न संदध्यात् as a correction for संदध्यात् in the corrigenda.

2 K P V read आर्धचान्तात् as Sūtra No. 15, and then read तयोरुत्तरेणोत्तरं ... as Sūtra No 16.

3 P V read ऊ इति मित्याकारे.

MFN
799.

THE ACADEMY OF RESEARCH IN VEDIC LITERATURE
No. 4763

THE ACADEMY OF RESEARCH IN VEDIC LITERATURE
(KARNATAK STATE)

51

in the Padapāṭha, nor after **आ**, nor after **सु** when it occurs as **सुणः** in the Padapāṭha, but straight on add the next word and recite the Krama of three words as एतवा ऽ अङ्गि (RV. IV. 58.9), उदु त्यम् (RV. I. 50.1), त्यमु वः (RV. VI. 44. 4; VIII. 92.7), यमी गर्भम् (RV. IX. 102.6), ए रिणन्ति (RV. IX. 71.6), समी रथं (RV. IX. 71.5), मित्रयोरी एति (RV. VI. 51.1), गव्यो सु णः (RV. VIII. 46.10). For details see *Rk Prātisākhya* (X. 2.3. and 4) and *Vājasaneyi Prātisākhya* (IV. 184-189).

Section II

(द्वितीयो वर्गः)

त्रिक्रमचतुःक्रमविशेषाः ।

१. न्याविध्यदिलीविशस्य^१

न्याविध्यदिलीविशस्य इकहा (RV. I. 33. 12) and others, stated in the rules that follow, are instances where the second word in the pair is superseded and, joining it with the word that follows, the Krama unit of three words is recited. The reason of the passing over or supersession of the second word is its grammatical irregularity or quaintness (विलक्षणत्व) in the language as stated by the Bhāṣyakāra. The Padapāṭha is नि । अविध्यत् । इलीविशस्य where the regular word अविध्यत् is given instead of the irregular word आविध्यत् in the Saṁhitā text. The Kramapāṭha is न्याविध्यदिलीविशस्य । इलीविशस्य इकहा । etc.

२. उषा आवर्तमः ।

The passage गावो न व्रजं न्युषा आवर्तमः occurs as the last foot of अग्नि पेशांसि वपते..... (RV. I. 92.4). The Bhāṣyakāra observes that the substitution of *r* (रेफ) is irregular here. There is *trikrama* therefore as उषा आवस्तमः । आवरित्यावः.

३. न्यावृणङ् मरुत्वन्तम् ।

The correct word here is अवृणक् instead of आवृणक्. On account of its incorrect form, the word आवृणक् is passed over

१ K V read इलीवित्तस्य.

and the Krama is न्यवृणङ् मरुत्वन्तम् । मरुत्वन्तं रुखाय । रुखाय हवामहे (RV. I. 101.2).

४. अगादरैगु कृष्णा ।

In the Saṁhitā text रुशद्वत्सा रुशती श्वेत्यागादरैगु कृष्णा (RV. I. 113.2) the irregular word अरैक् is used for अरैक् and उ is a single letter. Here, both अरैक् and उ are superseded in the क्रमपाठ which is recited as अगादरैगु कृष्णा, made up of four words (चतुःक्रमः).

५. योनिमरैगप ।

The word अरैक् occurs in the Saṁhitā text in the following passages as irregular for अरैक् एवा राज्यधसे योनिमरैक् (RV. I. 113.1), रुशद्वत्सा...श्वेत्यागादरैगु (RV. I. 113.2), अरैक्पन्थां यातवे (RV. I. 113.16) and न जामये तान्वो रिक्थमरैक् (RV. III. 31.2). In passages 1,3 and 4 out of these, the irregular word अरैक् does not affect the Kramapāṭha as it is the last and first in the half of the verse. Passage 2 is discussed in Sūtra 4 above. The passage here referred to, is स्वसा स्वस्त्रे ज्यायस्यै योनिमरैगपैत्यस्याः (RV. I. 124.8). Here superseding the word अरैक्, the Krama of 3 words is to be recited as ज्यायस्यै योनिम् । योनिमरैगप ।

६. एनमायुनगिन्द्रः ।

The word आयुनक्, used for the correct word अयुनक्, occurs in यमेनं दत्तं त्रित एनमायुनगिन्द्रं एणं प्रथमो अर्ष्यतिष्ठत् (RV. I. 163.2). The Kramapāṭha therefore is एनमयुनगिन्द्रः of three words. Note that the word एणम् is used for एनम् here.

७. अहिहन्नारिणक्पथः ।

The word अरिणक् for the correct word अरिणक्, is used in the Saṁhitāpāṭha (RV. II. 13.5). There is, hence, the trikrama here as अहिहन्नारिणक्पथः ।

८. न्यावृणग्भरता ।

The Saṁhitā text is न्यवृणग्भरता सोममस्मै (RV. II. 18. 7) as printed in the Vaidik Samshodhan M. Edition. It must have been recited as न्यावृणग्भरता by the author of the *Upalekha Sūtra*

as he has pointed out *trikrama* here. आवृणक् is used for the correct अवृणक्. There is *trikrama*, therefore, as न्यवृणग्भरत of the words नि अवृणक् and भरत. There is no *trikrama* in those cases where the word अवृणक् is read in the Saṁhitā as in *ṚV. II. 17. 6*. The word आवृणक् is recited in the Saṁhitā for the correct अवृणक् elsewhere also as in *ṚV. I. 53.9, 101,2; V. 29.10 and V. 32.8*. The word अरुणक् is found used in the Saṁhitā in *ṚV. II. 17.6*.

९. अभ्यादेवमोजसा ।

The word आदेवम् occurs for the correct word अदेवम् in भुव-द्विधम्भ्यादेवमोजसा (*ṚV. II. 22.4*). In the Krama, three words अग्नि, अदेवम् and ओजसा are taken together and recited as अभ्यदेवमोजसा in the Kramapāṭha.

१०. रिक्थमारैक् चकार ।

आरैक् in the Saṁhitā is recited for the correct अरैक्. See Sūtra 5 above, where the passage न जायते तान्धो रिक्थमारैक् is given. The Krama, therefore, is here रिक्थमारैक्चकार of three words.

११. रूप आरुपितं जवारु ।

The word आरुपितम् is used for अरुपितम् which is the correct one. The Saṁhitā text रूप आरुपितं जवारु (*ṚV. IV. 5.7*) has the Pada text रूपः । अरुपितम् । जवारु । The क्रमपाठ of 3 words is recited here as रूपोऽरुपितं जवारु. The obscure word जवारु is treated in the *Nirukta VI. 17* and explained as जरमाणरोहि or जवमानरोहि । रूपः is explained as 'from रूपो' रूप् meaning earth and अरुपितं as आरोपितम् by Sāyaṇācārya.

१२. अनायुधास आसता सचन्ताम् ।

In the Saṁhitā text अनायुधास आसता सचन्ताम् (*ṚV. IV. 5.14*) the word आसता is used for the correct word असता. Hence superseding आसता, the Krama recital is अनायुधासोसता सचन्ताम् which is an instance of त्रिक्रम.

१३. शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितम् ।

This is an instance of अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता as stated by Vyāḍi and others. The word चित् is inserted between the two parts

of the compound word शुनशेषम्. The Samhitā text शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितम् has शुनःशेषम् । चित् । निदितम् । as the Padapāṭha, and the Kramapāṭha would be त्रिक्रम as शुनःशेषं चिदितम् ।

१४. क आसतो वचसः ।

क आसतो वचसः सन्ति गोपाः (R V. V. 12.4) has the Padapāṭha as के । असतः । वचसः । सन्ति । गोपाः । the word असतः being the correct one for आसतः. There is त्रिक्रम, therefore, as केशसतो वचसः ।

१५. य आयुक्त तुजा ।

य आयुक्त तुजा गिरा (R V. V. 17.3) has the Padapāṭha as यः । अयुक्त । तुजा । गिरा. The word आयुक्त is incorrect. Putting the correct word अयुक्त in the middle, this is recited योयुक्त तुजा । as त्रिक्रम.

१६. दुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचः ।

The Samhitā text दुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचः (R V. V. 29.10) has the strange form आवृणक् for the correct form अवृणक्. The Padapāṭha is दुर्योणे । अवृणक् । मृध्रवाचः. Accordingly there is the त्रिक्रम as दुर्योणेवृणङ्मृध्रवाचः । For details see Sūtra 8 above.

१७. दुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचम् ।

The Samhitā text दुर्योण आवृणङ् मृध्रवाचम् (R V. V. 32.8) has the त्रिक्रमपाठ as दुर्योणेवृणङ्मृध्रवाचम्. See Sūtra 16 above as also Sūtra 8 above.

१८. वीरास एतन मर्यासः ।

The word इतन occurs at four places in the Rk Samhitā (1) अस्त्रेधन्त इतन वाजयन्तः (III. 29.9), (2) गातुमेतन (V. 87.8), (3) परेतन (X. 85.33) and (4) परा वीरास एतन मर्यासो भद्रजानयः (V. 61.4). The first three places have इतन as the correct word. Only in the last case एतन stands for इतन. एतन here cannot be taken as आ+इतन as in (2) and (3), as एतन in such cases has ए as उदात्त. Here एतन is सर्वानुदात्त and therefore एतन has to be taken as standing for इतन and hence, superseding एतन, वीरास एतन मर्यासः has to be taken as an instance of त्रिक्रम.

१९. आसु ष्मा णः^१ ।

In the passage आसु ष्मा^१ णो मघवन्निन्द्र वृत्सु (*R.V.* VI. 44.18) the change of स्म into ष्म is irregular. Hence, there is त्रिक्रम here आसु ष्मा णः ।

२०. अस्त्वासत इन्द्र ।

The expression अस्त्वासत इन्द्र वक्त occurs in *Rgveda* VII. 104.8 where the word असतः meaning असत्यस्य is irregularly recited as आसतः in the Samhitā recital. Hence, there is त्रिक्रम here as अस्त्वसत इन्द्र ।

२१. हन्त्यासद्ददन्तम् ।

The expression हन्त्यासद्ददन्तम् occurs in *Rgveda* VII. 104.13 where आसत् (meaning असत्य) is incorrectly read for असत्. Hence, there is त्रिक्रम here as हन्त्यसद्ददन्तम्. The expression हन्त्यासत् where आसत् is irregular for असत् occurs in *Rgveda* VII. 104.12, but as the word here occurs at the end of the verse, no question of त्रिक्रम arises.

२२. नकिरादेव ओहते ।

The passage नकिरादेव ओहते occurs in *Rgveda* VIII. 59.2 which is a part of the Bālakhilyasūkta. The word आदेवः in the Samhitā is irregular for the correct word अदेवः which is noticed in the Padapāṭha. नकिरदेव ओहते is the *trikrama* here.

२३. निराविध्यद्विरिभ्यः ।

The passage निराविध्यद्विरिभ्य आ occurs in *Rgveda* VIII. 77.6 where आविध्यत् stands in the Samhitā as irregular for the correct अविध्यत्. This passage is quoted at many places by the writers on the eight Vikṛtis. निराविध्यद्गिरिभ्यः is the *trikrama* here.

२४. ईयते नरा च शंसं दैव्यम् ।

The passage द्वा जना यातर्यन्नन्तरीयते नरा च शंसं दैव्यं च धर्तेरि occurs in *Rgveda* IX. 86.42 where the Padapāṭha is given as द्वा । जना । यातर्यन् । अन्तः । ईयते । नराशंसम् । च । दैव्यम् । च । धर्तेरि । This is

1 V reads आसुष्माणः.

an instance of the insertion of quite another word between the two parts of a word, technically named अनानुपूर्व्यसंहिता. Here as the wording नराचशंसम् is irregular for नराशंसं च, the previous word ईयते is to pass over नराशंसं च, and join itself with दैव्यम् in the Kramapāṭha.

२५. परीतो सिञ्चत ।

The passage परीतो सिञ्चता नृतम् occurs in *Rgveda* IX. 107.1 where the words परीतो सिञ्चत stand as irregular for परीतः सिञ्चत, इतो being irregular for इतः. The word इतः hence is to be passed over in the Kramapāṭha which is to be recited with the *trikrama* परीतः सिञ्चत. It should be noted here that the change of स् into ष् and the lengthening of त into ता are not looked upon as so irregular as to make the word सिञ्चत as liable to be passed over.

२६. कुरुश्रवणमावृणि राजानम् ।

The passage कुरुश्रवणमावृणि राजानम् occurs in *Rgveda* X. 33.4 where the word आवृणि is incorrectly used for अवृणि. Hence, passing over अवृणि, the त्रिक्रम is to be recited as कुरुश्रवणमवृणि राजानम्.

२७. नरा वा शंसं पृषणम् ।

The passage नरा वा शंसं पृषणम् occurs in *Rgveda* X. 64.3 where, as above in Sūtra 24, वा is inserted between the two parts नरा and शंसम्. The Kramapāṭha, therefore, is नराशंसं वा पृषणम् consisting of three words.

२८. चित्कम्भनेन स्कभीयान् ।

The passage चास्कम्भं चित्कम्भनेन स्कभीयान् occurs as the last foot of the stanza *R.V.* X. 111.5 where the word कम्भनेन is unwarranted for स्कम्भनेन. In the Kramapāṭha therefore the त्रिक्रम is to be recited as चित्स्कम्भनेन स्कभीयान्.

२९. एतेषां मध्यमपदान्यनवसानीयानि ।

In Sūtras 1 to 28 above, three words are mentioned in each Sūtra where out of the three, the middle one as an irregular one, is to be passed over and the Krama is to be recited by taking three words instead of two. The Krama unit is called त्रिक्रम in these cases.

३०. निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसमिति राज्यां पञ्चक्रमः ।

The passage निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसं देव्यायती occurs in *Rgveda* X. 127. 3. The word राज्याम् in the Sūtra means in the Rātrisūkta. The hymn X. 127. 1 consisting of 8 stanzas and beginning with रात्री व्यख्यदायती is called Rātrisūkta in which the stanza निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसम्... is the third. As stated in the Sūtra the Krama of five words is to be recited here which must have words numbered 2, 3, and 4 liable to be passed over. The second word उ is a word made up of a single vowel and has to be passed over. The word अस्कृत is an irregular word for अकृत, and hence has to be passed over. The word स्वसारम् presents a difficulty. If it be read स्वसारम् in the Samhitā text, then it can be passed over as an irregular word. The texts on *Astavikṛti* quote this passage as a solitary instance of *pañcakrama*, but they read निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसम्. If the recognized *Rgveda* text is seen, it is निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसम् and if स्वसारम् is looked upon as one of the few words liable to be passed over, then only the Krama of five words can be explained. The *Rk Prāṭisākhya* in the line स्वसारमस्कृतेत्युभे परं वीरास एतन् clearly states that both स्वसारम् and अस्कृत are to be passed over. Hence there remains no necessity of reading स्वसारम् and the expression निरु स्वसारमस्कृतोषसम् becomes a recognized instance of *pañcakrama*.

Section III

(तृतीयो वर्गः)

एकपदाद्विपदाद्याः

१. साधुरसिकन्याम्^१ ।

This section is found in the Poona and Satara manuscripts. It is not given in Vāṇivilāsa edition. The Bhāṣya text is very

1 P S give the following passage as the third Varga : — “साधुरसिकन्यां सिधक्नु न उरौ देवा उरौ विद्वेषां रयथा वाजं महिराध आवां सुभे ते ते देवाय रायरकामः प्रति नः रतोर्म स्वायुधासः पितुर्न पुत्रः स नो वाजेषु गावो न

(Continued on the next page)

incorrect in both the manuscripts and the Sūtras are difficult to be distinguished from the Bhāṣya. The sense of the Sūtra साधुरसिकन्याम् is that the verse beginning with the word असिकन्याम् and other such verses, consisting of one foot, two feet or three feet, half the verse is well determined in the traditional recital. The word असिकन्याम् stands for असिकन्यादिषु.

२. साधुरसिकन्यादिप्रत्यञ्चमर्कमनयच्छचीभिरित्येतत्पर्यन्तं

द्विपदैकपदा द्वाविंशतिरिति ।

From the verse असिकन्यां यजमानो न होता (R V. IV. 17.15) up to प्रत्यञ्चमर्कमनयच्छचीभिः (X. 157.5) there are in the R̥gveda, as the Bhāṣyakāra observes, 22 verses of 1, 2 or 3 feet and hence to define half-the-verse becomes doubtful; the clarification is as follows :—

३. तासां पञ्चैकपदाः । असिकन्यां सिषक्तु न

उरौ देवा आ वां सुप्ते इति ।

Verses असिकन्यां यजमानो होता (IV. 17.15), सिषक्तु न ऊर्ज्व्यस्य पुष्टेः (V. 41.20), उरौ देवा अनिवाधे स्याम (V. 43.16), आ वां सुप्ते वरि-मन्त्सरिभिः व्याम् (VI. 63. 11) are verses of a single foot which have to be looked upon as half-the-verse (अर्धचं).

४. भद्रं न इति पाक्षिकत्वाद्पक्रमत्वाच्च नोक्ता ।

In the verse भद्रं नो अपि वातय मनो दक्षमृत क्रतुम् । अधां ते सख्ये अन्धसो वि वो मदे रण्ण गावो न यवसे विवक्षसे (X. 25.1) of four feet, with 8 syllables in the first two feet and 12 in the last two feet, no difficulty occurs as traditionally no Padapāṭha is recited in the case of this verse (vide Section VIII Sūtra 26).

(Continued from the previous page)

यूथं पवस्व सोम मदयन्निति तिष्ठः । परि सुवानो नृभिर्ये मासः प्रत्यञ्चमर्क-मनयच्छचीभिरिति द्विपदैकपदा द्वाविंशतिः । तासां सप्तदश द्विपदाः पञ्चैकपदा भरद्वाजाय द्रुतेरिव तच्चछुर्वृक्षाश्विन्मेऽधीन्वनेत्येतेषां पूर्वपादेवस्येत् पूर्वकृतं रूपमभिक्रमे यथा भहित-मुत्तरकृतं प्रत्यादाने निषसाद गोरुहेण नृम्णा शीर्षसु श्रद्धा हृदयथेति निदर्शनानि । सर्वभैवान्यथथासंहितामाचरेत् ॥ ३ ॥

५. शिष्टाः सप्तदश द्विपदाः ।

The remaining 17 verses consist of two feet in each verse and the two feet together form half-the-verse, e. g. पितुर्न^१ पुत्रः
सुभृतो दुरोण आ देवाँ एतु प्र णो इति : (VIII. 19.27).

६. त्रिपदासु कश्चु पूर्वार्धे च तु द्विपदम् ।
उत्तरार्धे च तु पादमेव ।

In verses made up of 3 feet, many of which are in the Gāyatrī metre of three feet with 8 syllables in each foot, and others are in different metres with 8, 11 or 12 syllables promiscuously in a foot, the first two feet make half the verse and the third foot makes the other half.

७. भरद्वाजायदत्तेरिवतच्चक्षुर्वृक्षाश्विन्मेऽधीन्वत्रे
त्येतासां पञ्चानां पूर्वपाद एव कुर्यात् ।

In the five verses beginning with भरद्वाजाय, दत्तेरिव, तच्चक्षुः, वृक्षाश्विन्मो and अधीन्वत्र, the first foot should be taken as half the verse and the second and the third together should be taken as the other half. The verses are as follows :—

भरद्वाजायान धुक्षता द्विता । धेनुं च विश्वदोहसमिषं च विश्वभोजसम् (VI. 48. 13), दत्तेरिव तेऽवृकमस्तु सख्यम् । अच्छिद्रस्य० (VI 48. 18), तच्चक्षुर्वेवहितं शुक्रमुच्चरत् । पश्येम शरदः शनं जीवेम शरदः शतम् (VII. 66 16), वृक्षाश्विन्मे अभिपित्वे अरारणुः । गां भजन्त मेहनाऽश्वं भजन्त मेहना (VIII. 4. 21) अधीन्वत्रं सप्ततिं च सप्त च । सद्यो दिदिष्ट पार्थ्यः सद्यो दिदिष्ट मायवः (X. 93.15).

८. पूर्वकृतं रूपमभिक्रमे यथासंहितम् ।

In the case of the pair of words of the Krama recital, the change, caused by the first word in the initial letter of the latter word by rules of coalescence, remains intact in the first utterance (अभिक्रम) of that (latter) word. The word is uttered as it is in the Saṃhitā, but in its second utterance, the word should be taken as restored to its proper form. See Sūtra No. 9. This and the next Sūtra are based upon the following verse of the *Rik Prātisākhya* : पूर्वोत्तरकृतं रूपं प्रत्यादानावसानयोः । न ब्रूयात्, सर्वमेवान्यद्यथासंहितमाचरेत् (*Rik Prāt.* X. 5). The

instance given in the *Prātisākhya* is यच् शकरीषु । शकरीषु वृहता । The instances given in the *Bhāṣya* are अधि पु । विद्धिपुणः । ताभिरूपु and the like.

९. उत्तरकृतं प्रत्यादाने ।

The change caused by the latter word in the final letter of the previous word remains intact in the second utterance (प्रत्यादान) of that (previous) word. In the second utterance i. e. when the word is uttered in the next pair as the first member, the word should be uttered in its proper form. The instances given in the *Prātisākhya* are the following:—अग्ने अच्छ, अच्छा वद ॥ स्वस्मान्, अस्मा^७ अवतम् ।¹

Section IV

चतुर्थो वर्गः

परिगृह्यविशेषाः ।

१. परिगृह्याणि वक्ष्यामः ।

This is a Sūtra which is looked upon as अधिकारसूत्र. There will now be mentioned such simple or compounded words as are to be entwined with the word इति in the *Kramapāṭha*.

२. अतीत्य परिगृह्णीयात् । अवगृह्यस्य द्वितीये वचनेऽवग्रहः² ।

The word इति is to be put after a word which is liable to be entwined after it has occurred a second time in the *Kramapāṭha*, e. g. take the *Krama* recital अग्निमीळे । ईळे पुरोहितम् । पुरो-

1 This chapter, consisting of 9 Sūtras, is not found at all in the printed copy named V. The nine Sūtras together with *Bhāṣya* on them, are found in the manuscripts P and S. As, however, the Sūtra portion is not shown separate from the *Bhāṣya* in both the manuscripts P and S, the Sūtras are made separate from the *Bhāṣya* by taking into consideration the nature of contents and the style of writing, and accordingly they are given here. As manuscript K gives the Sūtras only without *Bhāṣya*, they are given below as they are found in that manuscript copy.

2 S reads अवगृह्यस्य as a separate Sūtra and does not read द्वितीये वचनेऽवग्रहः at all. K reads अतीत्य परिगृह्णीयात् । मात्रा ह्रस्वस्तावदवग्रहान्तरम् । अकगृह्यस्य द्वितीये वचनेऽवग्रहः ।

हितं यज्ञस्य । पुरोहितमिति पुरःहितम् । यज्ञस्य देवम् । In the Krama recital the first word is to occur only once. From the second word onwards upto the end of half the stanza, all the words occur twice. Out of these words single-vowelled indeclinables, vocative singular nouns, *pragr̥hya* words, compounds and other specified words, which are to be entwined, are, after their second utterance, taken again (परिगृह्यन्ते) and इति is put after them. Before इति, the *avagr̥hya* word is uttered in its pure Pada form and then it is split up in the second utterance e. g. पिबापिबेत् । पिबापिबेति पिबऽपिब । सुषहा सोम । सुसहेति सुऽसहा । The Satara Ms. reads only अवगृह्यस्य as the Sūtra.

३. सहेतिकरणम् ।

After इति has been added, the word should again be uttered e. g. ओ इत्यो । cf. सहेतिकरणं वेष्टयेत् (Bhāṣya).

४. अवगृह्यम् ।

If the word to which इति has been added, is liable to be split up, it should be so done e. g. आर्चत्कस्येत्येत् । चत्कस्य । See शरस्य चिदाचत्कस्यवतात् (R̥ V. I. 116 22) आर्चत्क means son of चत्क according to Sāyana.

५. आदिविकृतौ घक्षिभुक्षिप्रवादौ ।

The general rule is that the first part of the entwinement, or the repeated word with इति in the middle, is to be recited as it occurs in the Saṁhitāpāṭha, while the second one is to be recited as it occurs in the Padapāṭha. In the case of the words घक्षि, भुक्षि which have the first letter maimed in the Saṁhitā which recites the quaint or queer words दक्षि and दुक्षि, the correct words घक्षि and भुक्षि are to be recited at both the places e. g. घक्षीति घक्षि । भुक्षीति भुक्षि ।

६. अन्तःपदविकृतमनन्यकारितम् ।

If any letter inside a word is recited in the Saṁhitā as deformed or changed without any explicable reason for the change, the correct word is to be used in both the words e. g.

1 S reads भुक्षिभुक्षिप्रवादौ in the Bhāṣya, and not in the Sūtra,

वावृधाना शुभस्पती (R̥gveda VIII. 5.11) has the Padapāṭha as ववृधाना । शुभः । पती इति । The Krama recital is वावृधाना शुभः । ववृधानेति ववृधानाः । The Bhāṣyakāra gives the following examples : सुसुमेति सुसुम । सिसिक्तेति सिसिक्त । शुनःशेषमिति शुनःशेषम् । दुधुक्षन्निति दुधुक्षन् । अयुक्षदित्ययुक्षत् ।

७. बहुमध्यगतानि¹ ।

So also words intervening between two or more words in a unit of *Trikrāma* or *Catuhkrāma*, should also be recited again entwined with इति e. g. शुनाश्चिच्छेपं निदितम् । चिदिति चित् । or विद्धि षुणः । स्विति सु । The Poona Ms. adds च after बहुमध्यगतानि in the Sūtra.

८. आकारः सानुनासिकः² ।

When आ with nasal sound at the end, forms the middle member of a Krama unit, it should be shown entwined e. g. ईष्ट आँ अन्नयः । एत्या । or मित्रयोरॉँ एति । एत्या । The Poona Ms. reads आकारश्चानुनासिकः as the Sūtra.

९. प्लुतादि च ।

Words with their initial vowel lengthened in the Samhitā-pāṭha possibly for metrical purposes, are to be recited entwined with इति after their recital as a Krama unit. आयुक्षातामश्विना । अयुक्षातामित्ययुक्षाताम् । or आरैक्पन्थाम् । अरैगित्यरैक् । The word प्लुत means lengthened.

१०. अर्धचान्तं च ।

Similarly the word at the end of half-a-verse should also be shown entwined separately, after its recital, evidently to mark the end of a verse-unit. For example, see the Kramapāṭha of अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् । ... as अग्निमीळे । ईळे पुरोहितम् । ... देवम्-त्विजम् । ऋत्विजामित्युत्विजम् । It can be noted here that Sūtras 2 to 10 are based upon अवगृह्याण्यतिक्रम्य सहेतिकरणानि च । षक्षिषुक्षिप्रवादौ च विकृतादी प्लुतादि च ॥ अन्तःपदं च येषां स्याद्विकारोऽनन्यकारितः । एतानि परिगृह्णीयाद् बहुमध्यगतानि च ॥ अर्धचान्त्यं च नाकारं प्रागतोऽनुनासिकम् । प्रत्यादायैव तं ब्रूयादुत्तरेण पुनः सह ॥ (R̥k Prāt. X. 6, 7, 8).

1 S reads बहुमध्यगतानि.

2 P V read आकारश्चानुनासिकः; K reads अकारः सानुनासिकः.

११. संहितावत् पूर्ववचनं पदवदुत्तरम् ।

The first half of the entwinement should follow the Samhitā recital, while the latter half should follow the Pada recital.

१२. तयोरितिकरणमाद्युदात्तं मध्ये स परिग्रहः^१ ।

The word इति placed between the two words, has its initial vowel इ accented acute. This word should, by rules of coalescence, be joined with the preceding word as also with the following word. In short, the *vestana* or entwinement should form a unit by itself; for example, instead of आ इति आ the *vestana* recital should be एत्या.

१३. शुद्धमाकारं प्रत्यादायोत्तरेण पदेन संदध्यात्^२ ।

Pure i. e. unnasalised आ occurring in the Samhitāpāṭha as coalesced with the adjacent words in the *trikrama* should be taken out and recited again as joined with the word that follows it e. g. इन्द्रेहि । एहि । or ह्वयामसि त्वा । खेन्द्र । एन्द्र । The words here are ह्वयामसि त्वा । आ । इन्द्र । याहि । etc. (*Rgveda* VI. 41.5). The point to be noted is that आ is to be always recited in the Kramapāṭha along with the preceding and the following words forming a *trikrama*; but when आ is nasalised, it is to be taken and entwined as एत्या; while, if it is pure, it is to be taken out from the *trikrama* and recited along with the next word as एन्द्र.

१४. समयात्परमाकारमर्धर्चादिविवोत्सृजेत् ।

The single-vowelled indeclinable आ should not be repeated in Kramapāṭha when it follows a *samaya* or an omittable group of words or phrase, just as when it occurs at the beginning, it is recited only once and not repeated.

1 K S read संहितावत्पूर्ववचनं पदवदुत्तरम् । तयोरितिकरणमाद्युदात्तं मध्ये स परिग्रहः as one Sūtra. The Bhāṣya on this Sūtra is corrupt. S reads the sentence इतिकरणस्योभयतः संधिनं न्वस्तस्यादिना तदिङ्गमिति पुनर्वचनं स्वारयेयुः occurring in the Bhāṣya as a Sūtra. P reads न स्यात्तस्य instead of नस्वस्तस्य. K reads नस्तस्तस्यादिना तदिङ्गमिव पुनर्वचनं स्वारयेयुः ।

2 P V omit the word वदेत्.

१५. न च तं समयं क्रामयेत् संहितं समयं ब्रूयात्¹ ।

Similarly, following a *samaya*, आ is not to be repeated. The omittable phrase should be recited only once in the Kramapāṭha as it stands in the Samhitā text; it is never to be repeated. See अध्वर्यवो यः शतमासहस्रं भूम्याः *RV.* II. 14.7. Here the omitted phrase is अध्वर्यवो यः शतम् and आ occurs after it; so the Krama unit beginning with the *samaya* or omitted phrase is not to be completed at the end of आ, but, going ahead, it stops at the end of सहस्रम्. The Krama recital is अध्वर्यवो यः शतमा सहस्रम् । सहस्रं भूम्याः । भूम्या उपस्थे etc. Similarly the Krama recital of सजोषसा उषसा सूर्येण चेपं नो वोळ्ढमश्विना (*RV.* VIII. 35.4-6) is as follows:-- सजोषसा उषसा सूर्येण चेपम् । इषं नः । See also the Krama recital धातुर्द्युतीनात्सवितुश्च विष्णोरासूर्यात् । सूर्यादभरन् । अभ्रन्धमेम् । धमेमेते । (*RV.* X. 181.3) where धातुः ... विष्णोः is an omitted phrase in the Padapāṭha.

१६. ब्रूयात्तु समयोदयम्² ।

In the verse अस्मादद्य सदसः सोम्यादा विद्यामेषं वृजनं जीरदानुम् (*RV.* I. 182.8) आ occurs before the omitted phrase (समय) 'विद्यामेषं वृजनं जीरदानुम्'. The phrase 'विद्यामेषं वृजनं जीरदानुम्' is given as गलित in गलितप्रदीप III. The Kramapāṭha therefore is अस्मादद्य । अद्य सदसः । सदसः सोम्यात् । सोम्यादाविद्यामेषं वृजनं जीरदानुम् । Similarly in मित्रो न यो जनेष्वा यशश्चक्रे अस्माम्या (*RV.* X. 22.2) आ occurs before the omittable phrase यशश्चक्रे अस्माम्या given as गलित in गलितप्रदीप II. 54. The Kramapāṭha therefore is यो जनेषु । जनेष्वा यशश्चक्रे अस्माम्या । Sūtras 15 and 16 are based upon दृष्टक्रमत्वात् समयान् संदध्यात्सर्वशः क्रमे । पदेन च पदाभ्यां च प्रागवस्थेदतीत्य च । (*Rk Prāt.* X 12). The instances given here, have the indeclinable आ before or after the omitted phrase which is not to be repeated in the Krama recital. The general rule that the *galita* or समय is not to be repeated given above in the words दृष्टक्रमत्वात्....अतीत्य (*Rk Prātśākhya*) is universally applicable.

1 P S read संहितासमयं ब्रूयात्.

2 P reads आकारः समयाद्यस्तु... सहैव तौ as a verse in the Bhāṣya, and not as a Sūtra. K does not give आकार...सहैव तु at all.

१७. आकारः समयाद्यस्तु उकारो यस्तथाविधः ।
द्वितीये वचने वाच्यौ समयेन सहैव तौ^१ ॥

If the indeclinables आ and उ stand at the beginning of an omitted phrase (समय), they should be taken in the next unit along with the omitted phrase. In short, their repetition does not matter e. g. भुवनस्य गर्भं आ रोदसी। आ रोदसी अपृणाज्जायमानः (RV. X. 45.6).

१८. त्रिक्रमः समयादौ चेत्पुनरप्यादिना सह तं पठेत्^१ ।

In the passage ते चिदवासुर्न ह्यन्तमपुः समू नु पत्नीवृषभिर्जगम्युः (RV. I. 179.2) has समूनु as त्रिक्रम i.e. a Krama unit of three words समू, उ and नु. The second part of त्रिक्रम viz. ऊनु is to be taken up and recited along with the omittable phrase पत्नीवृषभिर्जगम्युः। The Krama recital, in short, is आयुःसमू। समूनु। ऊनु पत्नीवृषभिर्जगम्युः। The sentence आ सर्वतातिमिति वृणीमहे (RV. X. 100. 1-11) is a famous refrain, and hence, an omittable phrase or समय. The indeclinable आ always forms a *trikrama* with the preceding and the following word. Hence, in the Krama recital beginning with the word which precedes आ, the whole passage ending with वृणीमहे is to be recited together only once.

१९. अकार-इकार-उकारान् व्यञ्जनपरान् वर्धमानान्
पदवन् परिगृह्णीयात्^१ ।

When the vowels अ, इ and उ in a word, are recited as lengthened in the Sambhitāpāṭha, they should be recited in their usual short form in the Krama recital before इति as also after इति, provided they are followed by a consonant e. g. पुष्टवन्तो यथा पशुम् (RV. VIII. 45.16) has the Krama recital as पुष्टवन्तो यथा। पुष्टवन्त इति पुष्टवन्तः। यथा पशुम्। पशुमिति पशुम्। Similarly रथीतमं रथीनाम् (RV. I. 11.1) has the Krama recital as रथीतमं

1 S omits this Sūtra although it gives its instance 'समू नु पत्नीः ...' in the Bhāṣya. K reads सह तं पठेत्। उ नु पत्नीरा सर्वतातिमिति निदर्शनानि। V reads समू नु... as a part of the Sūtra.

2 V adds पुष्टवन्तो रथितमं सुमयामिति निदर्शनानि. K does not read this Sūtra at all.

रथिनाम् । रथितममिति रथिस्तमम् । रथिनामिति । So also तुविक्षं ते सुकृतं सुमयं धनुः (RV. VIII. 77 11) has the recital सुमयमिति सुमयम् । in the Kramapāṭha. In उदावता त्वक्षसा (RV. VI. 18.9) the Krama recital is उदवतेत्युत्सवता । So also नि रामय जरितः सोम इन्द्रम् (RV. X. 42.1) has रमयेति रमय in the Krama recital. Note that the correct word रमय is used in नमस्या रमया गिराः । (RV. V. 52.13).

२०. अथ स्वरपराणि यथासंहितं परिगृह्णीयात्¹ ।

When, however, अ, इ and उ are lengthened in the Saṁhitā recital and are followed by a vowel, the first part of the entwinement should be like the Saṁhitā recital, e. g. अकवारी (RV. VII. 96.3) explained by Sāyana as अकुत्सितगमना, अधीमसि (RV. I. 80.15) and पुरूरुणा (RV. V. 70.1). Here the Krama recital is अकवारीत्यकवअरी, अधीमसीत्यधिइमसि and पुरूरुणेति पुरूउरुणाः. Note the lengthening of the vowel which is regular here by coalescence. In some copies उदवता वर्जम् is read as an additional Sūtra after this, and then the fourth Varga is completed. The manuscript followed, does not give this Sūtra at all. The Sūtra appears also as superfluous.

Section V

(पञ्चमो वर्गः ।)

टवर्गीयविशेषाः ।

१. टवर्गीयं संहितायां यत्पदे तवर्गीयं तत् पदवत्परिगृह्णीयात्² ।

A dental letter, which is changed into a lingual one in the Saṁhitā, should be recited in the entwinement of the Krama recital as it is recited in the Pada recital, i. e. as a dental one. See for example अभिष्टने ते (RV. I. 80.14) has the Kramaparigraha as अभिस्तन इत्याभिस्तने । Similarly गिरिष्ठाम् (RV. III. 44.2, IX. 85.10

1 K V add अकवार्यधीमसि पुरूरुणेति निदर्शनानि.

2 K V add illustrations to the Sūtra wherever they occur in this and the following sections.

etc.) has the Krama entwinement as गिरिस्थामिति गिरिस्थाम् । So also, चन्द्रनिर्गिक् (RV. X. 106.8) has the Krama entwinement as चन्द्रनिर्गिति चन्द्रऽनिर्गिक्. So also पितृयानमिति पितृयानम् । (RV. X. 2.7), तिस्थिपदिति तिस्थिपत् (RV. I. 162.20).

२. पद्ये विसर्जनीये^१ तपरे सकारापत्तिः ।

In the case of words like मीळहुष्टम् (RV. VI. 43.1) आविष्टम् (RV. I. 95.5) and others, where *visarga* is changed into स्, स् into ष् and as a result, the following त् into ढ्, the *pari-graha* in the Krama recital follows the Pada recital, e. g. मीळहु-स्तमायेति मीळहुऽस्तमाय । आविष्टस्य इत्याविऽस्यः ।

३. षत्वं सकारस्य तु पदवत् परिगृहीयात् ।

स् changed into ष् in the Samhitā should be recited in the Krama entwinement as स् which is found in the Pada recital; e. g. पुरुसन्थोरिति पुरुसन्थो (RV. IX. 58.3) also सिसायेति सिसाय (cf. आ सिषायोवरुद्दः RV. X. 28.10).

४. ऊष्मवृत्तेर्नकारस्य परिग्रहे प्रकृत्या ।

The letter न् in the original word is sometimes nasalized and an aspirate letter is added to it, which is changed into र् or dropped by coalescence, for instance see सिन्धूर् रिव प्रवणे... (RV. VI. 46.14), अस्माँ अस्माँ इदुदेव (RV. VI. 32.4). In the *pari-graha* of the Krama recital, the original न् remains intact e. g. सिन्धूर्निवेति सिन्धूर्ऽहव । अस्मानस्मानित्यस्मान्ऽअस्मान् ।

५. ऊष्मा षकारः सकारो वा कपपरः^२

उपचारसंज्ञकस्तस्य लोपः परिग्रहे ।

The word लोप here does not mean elision; it only means

1 P V read पद्ये विसर्जनीये सकारापत्तिः संधौ. K transposes the Sūtras पद्ये विसर्जनीये and षत्वं सकारस्य and after the words सकारापत्तिः adds तुविस्तमावित्य इति निदर्शने । स्तष्टभूतं स्थष्टभूतं नृम्णभूतमादौ सषभूतस्य पदवत्परिगृहीयात् तिस्थिपत्ते त्रैस्तुभाद्वा त्रैस्तुभं पितृयानं सुसुमेति निदर्शनानि । पदवत् प्रत्यारम्भास्तसु ष्टुहि क्ष्टा नरः प्रण इन्द्रो भोषु व इति निदर्शनानि । धक्षिधुक्षिजुधुक्षतोऽकृतस्कम्भनेनेति पदवत् परिगृहीयात् ।

2 S reads ऊष्मषकारः सकारः कपपरः. K adds after this Sūtra which is read as ऊष्मा षकारः सकारो वा कपपरः उपचारः संज्ञितस्तस्य लोपः

its utterance as ॡ क and ॡ प respectively which is termed जिह्वामूलीय and उपधमानीय. This utterance was technically named उपचार in ancient works. The words चतुष्पदी, (*R.V.* I. 164.41) चतुष्कपर्दा (*R.V.* X. 114.3), रायस्कामः (*R.V.* I. 78.2), पथस्पथः (*R.V.* VI. 49.8) and others with स् or प् substituted for the *visarga* have got the *jihvāmūliya* before the guttural letters क् and ख् and *upadhmanīya* before the labial letters प् and फ् in the first half of the *veṣṭana*, while in the second half the *visarga* is retained e. g. चतुः पदी इति चतुःस्पदी । चतुः कपर्दा इति चतुःस्कपर्दा । रायः काम इति रायःस्कामः । पथः पथ इति पथःस्पथः । दक्षिणतः कपर्दा इति दक्षिणतः स्कपर्दाः । चतुः पादिति चतुःपात् । सहः कृतमिति सहःकृतम् । आविः कृण्वतीमि-
त्यायुःकृण्वतीम् ।

Section VI

(षष्ठो वर्गः)

पूर्पतिधूर्षदादीनां परिग्रहे विशेषाः

१. धूर्षुःस्वरिति पद्येष्वधोषवत्परेषु अन्तरा रेफलोपः परिग्रहे ।

The noun bases पुर, धुर and खर् have their र् changed into *visarga* in the first part of the entwinement when they are followed by a hard consonant. The words in the *Saṁhitā* are पूर्वतिम् (*R.V.* I. 174.10), धूर्षतम् (*R.V.* I. 143. 7) and स्वंपतिम् (*R.V.* VIII. 97. 11), have the *veṣṭana* in the *Krama* recital as पूःपति-
मिति पूःस्पतिम् । धूःसदमिति धूःसदम् and स्वःपतिमिति स्वःस्पतिम् । Similarly स्वःसातेति स्वःसाता । स्वःसामिति स्वःसाम् ।

२. पद्ये विसर्जनीये चपरे शकरापत्तिः संधौ ।

The words स्वश्चनाः and स्वश्चक्षाः (*R.V.* IX. 84.5 and IX. 97. 46) retain their श् in the *parigraha* in the *Krama* recital स्वश्चना इति स्वःश्चनाः । स्वश्चक्षा इति स्वःश्चक्षाः ।

(Continued from the previous page)

परिग्रहे चतुःपदी चतुःकपर्दा रायःकामः पथः पथ इति निदर्शनानि, an additional Sūtra — विक्रमावग्रहे रेफपरकपयोः परिक्रमदशाथां परिग्रहे पूर्ववचने जिह्वामूलीयोपधमा-
नीयावन्यत्र न भवतः इति शाकल्यः, and without adding any instances closes the chapter. As the instances are verily the same as those of the Sūtra ऊष्मा प्रकारः सकारो वा...probably this Sūtra is an explanatory remark of the *Bhāṣyakāra*, taken as a Sūtra, by the copyist.

३. परिपूर्वे कृपरेऽन्तरा^१ षकारलोपः परिग्रहे ।

When the augment वृ is inserted between परि and कृ in the Saṁhitā recital, the *parigrāha* or entwinement has the augment वृ dropped. परिऋणवन्निति परिऋणवन् । परिऋतस्येति परिऋतस्य । परिकृता इति परिऋताः ।

४. वनपूर्वे सदपरेऽन्तरा^२ रेफलोपः परिग्रहे ।

वनर्षदो वायवः । (R V. X. 46.7) has the *parigrāha* of वनर्षदः as वनसद इति वनऽसदः । The consonant र् of the word वनर्षद in the Saṁhitā is dropped here; cf. also घर्षद वनर्षदम् (R V. X. 132.7).

५. ह्रस्वे च पूर्वपद्यान्ते चन्द्रशब्दे पदेऽन्तरा^३ शकारलोपः परिग्रहे ।

The consonant श् which is inserted between the short vowel at the end of the first member of a compound word and the consonant च् at the beginning of the second member, is dropped in the entwinement. The words सुश्चन्द्र, पुरुश्चन्द्र and हरिश्चन्द्र in the Saṁhitā are entwined as सुचन्द्रमिति सुऽचन्द्रम् । पुरुचन्द्रमिति पुरुऽचन्द्रम् । हरिचन्द्र इति हरिऽचन्द्रः ।

६. धक्षिधुक्षिजुधुक्षतोऽकृतस्कम्भनेनेति पदवत् परिगृहीयात्^४ ।

The correct words धक्षि, धुक्षि, जुधुक्षतः, अकृत and स्कम्भनेन should be recited in the entwinement with इति as in the Padapāṭha instead of the strangely used word दक्षि, दुक्षि, जुगुक्षतः, अस्कृत and कम्भनेन; e. g. धक्षीति धक्षि । दुधुक्षन्निति दुधुक्षन् । जुधुक्षत इति जुधुक्षतः । अकृतेत्यकृत । स्कम्भनेनेति स्कम्भनेन ।

७. दूढ्यदूणाशदुळभप्रवादान् कारभूतान् रेफसहितान् पदवत् परिगृहीयात्^५ ।

दुर्ध्वं, दुर्नर्शं and दुर्लभं are the correct words; but instead of

1 S reads कृपरेऽन्तरा.

2 P V read षदपरे. K reads रेफषकारलोपः परिग्रहे वनसदमिति निदर्शनम् ।

3 S reads उत्तरेऽन्तरा सकारलोपः .

4 S reads जुगुक्षतो. K omits the Sūtra धक्षिधुक्षि^० here, but reads it after the Sūtra द्र्यातु समथोदथम् (Sūtra IV. 16) along with two other Sūtras which are read as additional (see note 1 on page 67),

5 P V omit ऊकारभूतान्.

them the Saṁhitā recital has the actual words (प्रवाद) दूष्य, दूषाश and दूडभ which are probably specimens of mannerism. In the entwinement, the correct words are to be used दुर्ध्य इति दुःसध्यः । दुर्नशमिति दुःसनशम् । दुर्दभ इति दुःसदभः ।

८. स्वधितिरिवेति रेफसंहितम्¹ ।

In स्वधितिरिव (RV. V. 7.8) the *veṣṭana* should have the consonant र्, substituted for *visarga*, retained e. g. स्वधितिरिवेति स्वधितिःऽइव ।

९. ज्योतीरथप्रवादं यथासंहितम् ।

The Saṁhitā word ज्योतीरथ should be recited in the *pari-graha* as it is, e. g. ज्योतीरथमिति ज्योतिःरथम् । The author of the Bhāṣya observes that this Sūtra is stated as an exception of अकार-इकार- (Sūtra 47) which enjoins the shortening of the vowels अ, इ, उ in the *parigraha*, if they are lengthened in the Saṁhitā recital. Really speaking the lengthening of the vowel इ in ज्योतीरथ is not due to metrical or any other similar consideration. The lengthening is due to the rules of coalescence which apply to the *sandhi* of ज्योतिस् and रथ.

Section VII

(सप्तमो वर्गः)

पूर्वपदान्तेतिकरणयोः संधिविशेषाः

१. पदान्तस्येतेषु प्रश्लिष्य संधीन् वक्ष्यामः ।

There are described in the following Sūtras the various ways in which the word इति coalesces with the final letter of the previous word.

२. अकाराकारावेकारम् ।

The final vowels अ and आ of the preceding word and the initial vowel इ of इति combine into the vowel ए. The author of the Bhāṣya gives the following instances. हिरण्यवाशीवत्सतम् । सप्तस्वसेति सप्तस्वसा । सुजुष्टेति सुजुष्टा ।

¹ P reads स्वधितिरिवेति च रसंहितम् । K reads स्वधितिरिवेति रेफ^० संहितम् ।

३. इकारेकाराधीकारम् ।

The final vowels इ and ई of the preceding word and the initial vowel इ of इति combine together into the vowel ई; e. g. विभावरीति विभाऽवरी । सानसीति सानसी । आपमुषीत्याऽपमुषी ।

४. उकारो वकारम् ।

The vowel उ, followed by इति, is changed into वृ; e. g. देव-
खिवति देवऽवृ । विभिवति विऽवृ ।

५. औकार आकारभूतो वकारम् ।

The vowel औ followed by इति, is changed into आवृ; e. g. ऋतवृधवित्यतऽवृधौ । सजोषसाविति सऽजोषसौ ।

६. एकारश्चाकारभूतो^१ विवृत्त्या

When ए is changed into अ and the consonantयू is dropped according to Pāṇini (P. VIII. 3.19), अ remains intact without combining with the vowel इ of इति e. g. विश्वजित इति विश्वजिते ।

७. ऐकार आकारभूतो विवृत्त्या ।

Similarly ऐ changed into आ, remains intact before इति, e. g. वावृधष्या उषासानक्ता । ववृधष्या इति ववृधष्यै । परादा इति पराऽदै ।

८. विन्दतीति दीर्घसन्धि परिगृह्णीयात् ।

The final vowel of the word विन्दती, combined with इ of इति, should be taken as it is in the first part of the entwinement.

९. द्वितीये वचने पदवत् प्लुतिः ।

In the second part विन्दती should be prolated i. e. lengthened as possessed of three mātrās and then nasalized, e. g. विन्दतीति विन्दती^१ as in the Pada recital.

१०. ऊष्मान्तं रेफेण ।

When a word ending in a visarga is to be entwined, the visarga is changed into र् in the first part before इति. The Bhāṣyakāra here has supplied many instances : अन्निरित्यत्सभिः ।

1 V reads एकार आकारो possibly by mistake for एकार अकारो.

मधोनीरिति मधोनीः । देवयुरिति देवऽयुः, दर्शता भूः, भूरिति भूः । ऋषेः, ऋषे-
रित्यृषेः । सचेमदि सचथ्यैः, सचथ्यैरिति सचथ्यैः । दिवःपृथिव्योरिति दिवः-
पृथिव्योः । वर्तनिं गौः, गौरिति गौः ।

११. अकाराकारयोरनन्तरमूष्मा पदे^१ संहितायां वा रिफितो रेफेण ।

When there is a *visarga* after the vowel अ or आ, it is sometimes changed into the consonant र् which remains as it is before इति. The instances quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra are दोषावस्त्रिंश्या, दोषावस्त्ररिति दोषाऽवस्तः । पुनःपुनर्जायमाना, पुनःपुनरिति पुनःऽ-
पुनः । देवभाः पराव्रताः भारिति भाः । हन्तना वधः, वधरिति वधः । धाराभिरक्षाः,
अक्षारित्यक्षाः ।

१२. अरिफितो विवृत्त्या ।

When the *visarga* after अ or आ is not changed into र् in the Saṁhitā recital, then in the first part of the entwining it should be dropped and the preceding vowel अ or आ should be left uncombined with the initial इ of इति. The Bhāṣyakāra gives the following examples:—दभीतिमावः आव इत्यावः । बृहद् भाः, भा इति भाः । वातजूतास्तरणिभिरेवैः, वातजूता इति वातऽजूताः । This Sūtra and the preceding one are to be read and interpreted together. The author of the Sūtra, according to his method of explaining the Saṁhitā text as resulting from the Pada text by the application of the rules of coalescence, means to say that *visarga* occurring at the end of a *padu* and preceded by अ or आ is found either changed into र् or omitted before the following इ of इति. The change of *visarga* into र् or its omission appears like an option, but it is not an ordinary option; it is a regulated option or व्यवस्थितविभाषा. If the *visarga* is substituted for र् which is an outcome of *guṇa* or *vrddhi* prescribed for the vowel ऋ, र् takes the place of *visarga* in the Saṁhitā as also in the first part of the entwining (see rule 10 above). If however, the *visarga* is substituted for र् which itself has been substituted for स्, the *visarga* is dropped (see rule 11).

1 PV read अन्तरा ऊष्मपदे.

१३. अहरहः शुन्धुर्वजम्^१ ।

This Sūtra is given by the author of the Sūtra as an exception to Sūtra 11 above. The first part of the entwinement of अहरहः should not have the *visarga* omitted before इति, but it should be changed into र as by Sūtra 10 e. g. अहरहरित्यहःऽअहः । It should be noted that here the *visarga* is substituted no doubt for र, but, in fact, र is not substituted for स् here, it is substituted for न् and therefore Sūtra 11 should not be applicable here.

१४. वर्गाणां प्रथमान्तं स्वेन तृतीयेन ।

If the first part of the entwinement has the first of the five consonants forming a group, it should be changed into the third of the group before इति ; e. g. हिरण्यनिर्निगिति हिरण्यऽनिर्निक्. Note that the Samhitā word निर्निक् is recited as निर्विक् in the Pada recital. Similarly शुचिसदिति शुचिऽसत्; also स्तुबिति स्तुप्.

१५. स्वेनोत्तमान्तमुत्तमेन ।

The last of the class consonants remains the last before इति e. g. धनञ्जयमिति धनम्ऽजयम्.

१६. ह्रस्वपूर्वौ डनौ क्रामयेत्^२ ।

The consonants ड् and न् are doubled before इति provided they are preceded by a short vowel ; e. g. मधवन्निति मधऽवन् । सद्-इडिति सऽदड्. Note, according to Pāṇini ड्, ण् or न् standing at the end of a word has ड्, ण् or न् added before it when preceded by a short vowel and followed by any vowel. Cf डमो इस्वादधि डमुणित्यम् (P. VIII. 3.32).

१७. दर्दिति वर्गिति पर्यावर्दिति ।

The last letter द् of दर्द and पर्यावर्द and ग् of वर्ग is doubled before इति ; e. g. दर्दिति दर्द्व । वर्गिति वर्क् । पर्यावर्दिति पर्यावर्द्व ।

1 P reads अहरहः शुन्धुरितिवजम् । V reads अहरहः शुन्धुः.

2 S reads ह्रस्वपूर्वौ ङः वृत्तात्क्रामयेत्; KV read ह्रस्वपूर्वौ ङनवान्तौ क्रामयेत् । मधवन् सुद्वाडिति निदर्शने । K reads पर्यावर्दिति च.

१८. सहेतिकरणे यथापदसंधिः^१ ।

When a word has इति added in the Pada recital i. e. when a word before इति is प्रगृह्य, the first part of the entwinement should follow the Pada recital e. g. चर्मणी इवेति चर्मणीऽइव । अमि-
स्तुते इत्यमिऽस्तुते । अस्मे इत्यस्मे ।

१९. णुसंहिते स्नुभिपदे^२ यथापदवत् प्रत्यारम्भः^३ ।

The word स्नुभिः which is recited as णुभिः should be स्नुभिः in the entwinement as it is in the Pada recital; e. g. अधिणुभिः, (RV. V. 60.7; V. 87.4), स्नुभिरवीनाम् (RV. IX. 107.8), स्नुभिरिति स्नुभिः ।

२०. टकारान्तं लकारेण ।

This is an exception to Sūtra 13 above. When a word ends in the consonant ट्, the consonant ट् should be changed into ल् e. g. भोजते विट्; विळिति विट् । विभ्राड् बृहत्, विभ्राळिति विऽभ्राट् ।

Section VIII

(अष्टमो वर्गः)

इतिकरणपदादिसंधिविशेषाः, स्वरविशेषाः कम्पविशेषाश्च

१. उक्तः संधिः पदान्तानाम् ।

The coalescence of the final letter of a word preceding इति with the vowel इ of इति is given in the previous chapter.

२. पदादीनां वक्ष्यामः ।

Now we begin, says the Sūtrakāra, to state rules regarding the coalescence of the final letter इ of इति with the initial letter of the word that follows.

३. स्वरादि तयकारयोः संयोगमापद्यते ।

If the word that follows इति begins with a vowel the preceding final ति of इति is changed into the conjunct consonant त्य; e. g. ऋत्विजमित्यूत्विजम् । ऋवौजा इत्यृवऽओजाः ।

1 PV read यथापदवत्संधिः ।

2 P reads स्नुभिःशब्दे. K reads लुतसंहिते स्नुभिःशब्दे यथापदे प्रत्यारम्भः.

3 PV read यथापदप्रत्यारम्भः । K reads यथा पदे प्रत्यारम्भः.

४. इकारेकारवर्जम् ।

The change of ति into स्यु does not take place if इ or ई occurs after इति.

५. तावीकारमापद्येते^१ ।

In that case the following इ or ई is combined into ई with the preceding इ.

६. व्यञ्जनाद्यसंयुक्तं प्रकृत्या ।

If a consonant follows इति, the final इ of इति remains uncombined e. g. श्रुतपाकमिति श्रुतऽपाकम् । पृथ्निगाव इति पृथ्निगावः ।

७. संयोगादि छकारादि च क्रामयेत्^२ ।

If the word following इति begins with a conjunct consonant or with the consonant छ, the consonant following इति should be doubled, e. g. युषितऽपुरिति युषितऽप्सु । श्रुतऽक्रषिमिति श्रुतऽक्रषिम् । छन्दस्तुभ इति छन्दऽस्तुभः ॥

अथ स्वरविशेषाः

८. उदात्तादनुदात्तं स्वारयेन्न चेत् स्वरितोदात्तपरम् ।

A grave-accented syllable following an acute-accented one, is changed into a circumflex-accented syllable provided it is not followed by a syllable which has an acute or a circumflex accent e. g. अग्निमीळि, अग्निर्देवता। Here मी gets a circumflex accent; but दे does not get a circumflex accent as it is followed by व which is acute-accented. Cf. उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः । नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम् (P. VIII. 4. 66; 67).

९. उदात्तेनैकीभूतमुदात्तं भवेत्^३ ।

If a vowel with any accent combines with another vowel which has an acute accent, the combined vowel gets an acute accent e. g. वक्ष्यतीति वक्ष्यति or इकीति । Here ती gets an acute accent. Cf. एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात्तः (P. VIII. 2.5).

1 S reads इकारईकारभोनौपपद्येते K reads तावीकारमापद्येत कुवित्तोमस्यापामिति निदर्शनम् ।

2 S omits this Sūtra, but gives the Bhāṣya thereon.

3 K reads उदात्तेनैकीभूतमुदात्तासीभवेदितरोनुदात्तः स्वरितो वा प्रचयो निर्यता नियच्छेत् स्वरितात्प्रचयस्वरं नथेत् स्वरितात्पराणि यान्यनुदात्तानि कानिचित् सर्वाणि प्रचयं यान्त्युपोदात्तं निह्न्यते ।

१०. नियतान् नियच्छेत् ।

Syllables following a grave syllable become grave-accented in the entwinement e. g. य इन्द्र । इन्द्र सोमपातमः ।

११. स्वरितात् प्रचयस्वरं नयेत् ।

After a *svarita* syllable, the following *anudatta* syllables, irrespective of their number, get the *prachaya* accent e. g. इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति । अग्निर्मिळि । व्यक्ता इति विअक्ताः । उपोपेत्युपः । ऋतेन मित्रावरुणावृतावृधावृतस्पृशा ।

१२. उपोदात्तं निहन्यते ।

That syllable which approaches i. e. which is immediately followed by an acute-accented syllable, becomes specially grave-accented.

१३. नियतादेः पदस्य^१ व्यञ्जनादेरितिकरणान्तं
स्वारयित्वा पदं प्रकृतिवद् ब्रूयात् ।

If the first part of the entwinement begins with a consonant and is wholly grave-accented, it should be recited as in the *Saṁhitā* text and the final vowel of इति should be made *svarita*; e. g. रत्नधातममिति रत्नधातमम् (*RV. I. 1.1*), सुरूपकृत्नुमिति सुरूपकृत्नुम् (*RV. I. 4. 1*).

१४. अथ स्वरादेराद्यमक्षरं सहेतिकरणान्तेन
स्वारयित्वा पदशेषं प्रकृतिवद् ब्रूयात् ।

If, however, the first word begins with a vowel, that vowel in the second part of the entwinement being combined with the final vowel of इति, is made *svarita* and the remaining part should be accented as in the *Saṁhitā* text; e. g. अललाभवन्तीरित्यललाभवन्तीः (*RV. IV. 18.6*), अहंरिस्वनिरित्यहंरिस्वनिः (*RV. I. 56.4*), अथ इत्याञ्जये (*RV. II. 38.10*).

१५. उदात्तस्योदात्तादेश्च व्यञ्जनादेः एकाक्षरनियतस्य च स्वरादेः,^२
स्वरितादेश्च इतिकरणान्तं नियच्छेत् ।

The final vowel of इति should be recited as *anudatta* when इति follows an *udatta* syllable or a syllable beginning with an

1 P V read नियतादिपदस्य.

2 S reads एकाक्षरस्य निहतस्य स्वरादेः .

udātta vowel, or a *svarita* word like स्मृ or a word beginning with a *svarita* syllable, provided all these four kinds of words begin with a consonant; e. g. स इति सः । त इति ते । मनोजवसेति मनः-जवसा । अप्सुर इत्यप्सुरः । अप्स्वित्यप्स्वित् । आधा इत्याधै । स्वर्षतीति स्वर्ष्वती । च्योमतीति विष्ओमती । क्कोइ इति क्को ।

१६. उदात्तस्योदात्तादेश्च स्वरादेरितिकरणमुदात्तं भवेत्¹ ।

Both the vowels of the word इति are recited as *udātta* if the word preceding इति is made up of an *udātta* vowel, e. g. पृत्या । ओ इत्यो । ऋषिभिरित्यृषिभिः ।

१७. सर्वं नियतं² प्रचयस्वरं नयेत् ।

After the syllable ति of इति, all the *anudātta* vowels which follow, are recited with *pracaya* tone e. g. अच्युतच्युदित्यच्युतच्युत् ।

१८. समापाद्यान्नुत्तरे षट्पकारे³ राधो रथो ज्ञा दिवो जा ऋतश्च ।

अञ्जः पादुः प्रेति च पूर्वपद्यावनिङ्गयन् विक्रममेषु कुर्यात् ॥

This Sūtra in the verse form as given above, occurs in the *Rk Prāṭisākhya* (XIII. 11). When followed by a word beginning with the consonant प्, the six words राधः, रथः, ज्ञाः, दिवः, जाः and ऋतः are not shown as separate by *anagraha*. They are technically called समापाद्य (combining with the following word so as to form one uncompounded word). In the *Padapāṭha visarga* should be recited instead of स् before the consonant प् e. g. त्वं हि राधस्पते (RV. VIII. 61.14) is recited in the *Pada* recital as त्वम् । हि । राधःस्पते । The words अञ्जस्पा and दुष्प्र are recited in the *Padapāṭha* as अञ्जः पा and दुःप्र respectively.

अथ कम्पविशेषाः

१९. कम्पयेन्नीचस्वरितं ह्रस्वदीर्घाबुभौ स्वरौ ।

ह्रस्वे ह्रस्वं विजानीयादीर्घे दीर्घं तथैव च ॥

1 S reads उदात्तभूतं भवेत्. K reads इतिकरणान्तमुदात्तीभवेदो इत्यहरिति निदर्शने.

2 S reads निहतं.

3 P V read षट्परे ... । अञ्जः पादुः प्रेति च ।

स्वरितस्यानुरूपेण कम्पं कुर्वीत शास्त्रवित् ॥
 उदात्ता यत्र दृश्यन्ते तत्र कुर्वीत कम्पनम्¹ ॥
 उदात्तास्वरिताद्वापि कम्प उत्पद्यते क्वचित् ॥
 संहितायां पदे वापि नीचस्वरितमुच्यते ।
 तत्पदं हि भवेत्कम्प्यमाकारान्तं च वर्जयेत् ॥
 क्रमकाले त्वकम्पः स्यान्नीचं चेदुत्तरं पदम्² ॥

In these lines, *kampa* or recital of the *svarita* vowel with a quivering tone, is discussed. The *svarita* accent has in general two varieties, जास्यस्वरित which is known as independent or primary *svarita*, and सांहितिकस्वरित or secondary *svarita*. *Svarita* accent is defined as a combination of the *udatta* and *anudatta* accents. This definition well applies to the *jātya* or independent *svarita* which, in fact, is a combination of an *udatta* vowel such as इ, उ or ए followed by an *anudatta* vowel with which it is combined by यणसंधि or by एकादेशः. In order that the utterance of *svarita* as a combination of the acute and grave accents should be audibly distinguished, a method of utterance with a high tone, immediately followed by a low tone, came into practice which came to be known as *kampa* or *quaver* or *tremor*, on account of its similarity with quivering or trembling. The distinguishing feature of this primary

1 S reads उदात्तो यत्र न दृश्यते कम्पं तत्र न कुर्वीत । P reads अन्त्यं पदं विचार्येत उदात्तो यत्र दृश्यते । कम्पं तत्र न कुर्वीत म चोदात्तेन संयुजम् ॥

2 S reads क्रमकाले तु कम्पस्य नीचं वदक्षरं पदं (possibly नीचं चेदरक्षं परम्) । K reads as —

स्वरितस्यानुसारेण कम्पं कुर्वीत शास्त्रवित् ॥
 उदात्तात् स्वरिताद्वापि कम्प उत्पद्यते क्वचित् ।
 क्रमकाले तु कम्पः स्यान्नीचं चेदुत्तरं पदम् ॥
 लोपं याति क्रमे कम्पोनुदात्ते तु परे पदे ।
 उदात्ते तु प्रकृत्या स्फादभ्यर्थं क निदर्शनम् ॥
 कम्पं तु द्विविधं प्रोक्तं चालनं स्वरितं तथा ।
 क्रमकाले रथान्तं न प्रत्यञ्चो यं तु संहिता ॥
 संहितायां पदे वापि नीचस्वरितमुच्यते ।
 तत् पदं हि भवेत् कम्प्यमाकारान्तं च वर्जयेत् ॥
 आकाराद्यधिकाक्षरं कम्पं तत्र न कुर्वते ।
 नीचेति द्रोण्यश्वास इति कम्पवर्जम् ॥

svarita is that it is preceded by a grave (अनुदात्त) syllable as contrasted with the secondary *svarita* which is invariably preceded by an acute accented (उदात्त) syllable. On account of this distinguishing feature, the independent *svarita* is called नीचस्वरित. Both short and long vowels can be uttered with *svarita* accent characterized by tremor, the tremor taking comparatively a shorter time in the case of a short vowel.

There are differences of opinion regarding कम्प among the traditional scholars of Veda. Some ancient scholars like माण्डूकेय and others, believe that the utterance of the independent *svarita* is and should always be characterized by quivering. Our author here follows the definite ruling given by Śaunaka in the *Rik Prātisākhya* that quaver should be observed, only when the independent *svarita* is followed by an acute-accented syllable. This tremor is observed in the Saṁhitā recital as also in the Pada recital and naturally it is observed in the Krama, Jaṭā, Ghana and other recitals. A syllable ending in ञा, even though it has the independent *svarita* accent and is followed by an acute-accented syllable, should never be uttered with quaver; so also, there is no utterance with quaver in the Krama recital when the second part of the compounded word is wholly grave-accented. The instances of *kampa*, given by the Bhāṣya-kāra, are अम्य॑भीत्यमिऽभि । सु॒ची॑ऽवेति सु॒ची॑ऽह्व । च॒म्बी॑ऽवेति च॒म्बि॑ऽह्व । वी॒य॑ऽनति वी॒र्ये॑ण । पु॒री॑ऽवेति पु॒रि॑ऽह्व ।

२०. न्यगित्येतस्यानीचानामपि कम्पः व्योमेत्युदात्तादीनाम् ।

The text in the manuscript is very corrupt here. The Bhāṣya does not throw any light on it. The Sūtra text given here is, as it seems, to have been stated by the Sūtrakāra. The words न्यक् व्योम and others which have got their first syllable accented *svarita*, are uttered with quaver in the Kramapāṭha although they are not preceded by a grave-accented syllable.

२१. व्यक्तारीत्यापेत्याकारान्तयोरपि ।

The words व्यक्ता and रीत्यापा have the *svarita* vowels अ and ञा of their syllables व्य and त्या uttered with tremor inspite

of the prohibition of कम्प in the case of words ending in आ by Sūtra 19 above e. g. व्य॑क्तेति विऽजक्ता । रीत्या३पेति रीतिऽआपा ।

२१. प्रशस्तिकृदेकस्यचिदतो नो रुद्राःक॑श्चोश्वा इति प्रथमं नाना
ह्य॑श्चे त्वां हीन्द्र कदून्वस्याभ्यार्षेषमूर्जे क्रमकाले नव कम्पलोपः ।

In passages beginning with प्रशस्तिकृत् (*R.V. I. 113.19*), अतो नो रुद्राः (*R.V. V. 60.6*), क॑ वोश्वाः (*R.V. V. 61.2*) and others *kampa* is not observed in the *Krama* recital by traditional convention as the *svarita* is not followed by *udātta* here. *Kampa* is observed in the *Sambitā* recital, as there, the *svarita* vowel is followed by an acute-accented or *udātta* vowel.

२२. यथापदं द्वैपदान्ते अवस्येत्^१ ।

This is a general observation regarding the *Krama* recital by way of summarizing what has been stated above. The *Karma* recital should be based on the *Pada* recital and pairs of words arranged as *ab, bc, cd, de*, etc. should be recited unless stated otherwise.

२३. समयान्ते द्वैपदमवस्येन्न च तं समयं क्रामयेत्^२ ।

In the cases of *samaya* or *galita*, where three or more words are dropped in the *Pada* recital after they have occurred thrice, care should be taken that no word included in the *samaya* is recited twice as required by the *Krama* recital. Words included in the *samaya* should be recited only once.

२४. संधाय समयं परे द्वैपदेऽवस्येत्^३ ।

The words included in the *samaya* which are to be recited only once in the *Kramapāṭha*, should be recited as joined by rules of coalescence; e. g. वष्टिष्टुभमिषं मन्दद्वीरायेन्दवे (*R.V. VIII. 69.1*).

1 S reads व्यवस्येत्. K reads द्वैपदान्तैववस्येत् । समयदौ पदेवस्येत् संधाय.

2 P V read समयद्वैपदेय(व)स्येन्न च संक्रामयोदिति ।

3 P V read परेण द्वैपदेवस्येत्.

२५. एकं समयमध्ये^१ चेदतिक्रम्य परेण तु ।

If one single word occurs between two *samayas* one should pass it over, it should also be recited once and should not be repeated in the Krama recital, e. g. ताश्चित् चिन्नमरन्ते.

२६. त्र्यम्बकं भद्रं नः प्रजापते ऋतं च सत्यं चेत्यपदक्रमम्^२ ।

The four verses त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे० (*RV.* VII. 59.12), भद्रं नो अपि वातय (*RV.* X. 25.1), प्रजापते न त्वदेतानि० (*RV.* X. 121.10) and ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात्० (*RV.* X. 190.1) should not have the Krama recital as they have no Pada recital according to traditional convention.

क्रममिममुपयान्ति ये विशेषाः पदपाठात् समयेन संहिताभ्यः ।

लिखति परिगणय्य शौनकाद्यैः कथितांस्तानुपलेखशास्त्रमेतत् ॥

This stanza does not actually occur in the text of the manuscripts which are followed. The Sūtra text, as also the Bhāṣya text, is very corrupt here. From the words in the

1 P V read समयमध्ये । K reads समयमध्ये चेदतिक्रम्य परेण तु । सुहासे दक्षा सोचिन्नमरातिताश्चिन्नमरतिनोयोनिष्ट इन्द्र० .

2 V adds after this, the stanza क्रममिममुपयान्ति द्विजवरगुरुणादरेण पठितम् । पठितापि पुण्यकर्मा भवति शास्त्रमुपलेखं शास्त्रमुपलेखम् and completes the work with the words नमः शौनकाय without any Bhāṣya, K reads क्रममिम... पठितोपि पुण्यकर्मा भवति सर्वजनाञ्चितोचितो भवति शास्त्रमुपलेखं नमः शौनकाय नमः शौनकाय ॥ K after repeating नमः शौनकाय adds:— अकारादयो म्याविध्यदिली- विशस्य साधुरसिक्न्यां परिशृङ्गाणि टवर्गीय पूर्वःस्वरिति पदान्तस्येतेश्च उक्तः सन्धिरष्टौ । इति भारद्वाजप्रोक्ते उपलेखा समाप्तः ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु । इदं पुस्तकं शके १७५५ विजयनामसंवत्सरे पौषशुद्धेकादश्यां घळसासीत्युपनामकमाधवाचार्यात्मज-अनन्तेन लिखितम् । श्रीमार्तण्डभैरवार्पणमस्तु ॥

The printed Calcutta copy of the^३ *Upalekhasūtram* edited by Satyavrata Sāmaśrāmi in Samvat 1951 reads क्रममिम... प्रपठितम् । पठितोपि ... मुपलेखं शास्त्रमुपलेखम् as Sūtra 36 and thereafter adding नमः शौनकाय नमः शौनकाय as Sūtra 37, concludes as follows : इत्युपलेखभाष्ये अष्टमो वर्गः । समाप्तं चेदमुपलेखाख्यं पदाशिष्टम् । Satyavrata Sāmaśrāmi in his Sanskrit introduction remarks:— तद्भाष्यकर्तुर्मते अस्याष्टवर्गात्मकत्वम् । मूलदर्शनात्त्ववगम्यते नववर्गात्मकत्वम् । वस्तुतो मूलपुस्तकीयावष्टमनवमाबुभावेव वर्गौ तत्र भाष्ये एकीकृत्याष्टवर्गात्मकत्वमापादितम् । मूलपुस्तकपाठानां भाष्योद्धृतपाठानां चास्ति मिथः किञ्चिद्भूनाधिक्यं क्रमव्यत्यासश्च ।

Bhāṣya commenting upon the concluding portion of the Sūtra text, the stanza is arranged. The concluding portion of the Bhāṣya as given in the Poona manuscript is as follows: इदानीं क्रमत्रयस्य प्रकृत्या छन्दशः लक्षणं क्रममिममुपयालिङ्गिनामेव समये सदृशाः विशेषाः संहिताभ्य इत्यर्थः । ते लेख्यन्ते यस्मिन् तान् लिखयति गणयति कृत्स्नशो निरूपयति उपलेखाशास्त्रम् । यथा च संज्ञाविशेषाः स्वरादयः पूर्वमुक्तास्ततो वर्गात्पदादीनां विशेषा इत्येव सदृशाः सदृशा विधयः तस्मादिदमुपलेखाशास्त्रमिति शास्त्रान्ते बृहदाचार्यः नमस्करोमीति नमः शौनकाय नमः शौनकाय । आवृत्त्यर्थः परितोषार्थो वा द्विरभ्यास इति ॥

इत्युपलेखाभाष्ये अष्टमो वर्गः समाप्तः ।

त्रिक्रमचतुःक्रमविशेषाः ततः परिगृह्या ततः त्वन्त्वे (न त्वन्यतः) ।
इत्युपलेखाभाष्यं समाप्तम् । ततः एकपदाः द्विपदाः ॥ *

यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्ट्वा (दृष्टं) तादृशं लिखितं मया ।
यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न विद्यते ॥
भग्नपृष्ठकटिप्रीवः सन्धदृष्टिरधोमुखं (खः) ।
कष्टेन लिखितं ग्रन्थं यत्नेन परिपालयेत् ॥
रसमुन्युत्तरनगोर्वीशते शक उत्तरे ।
आनन्दशुचिशुक्लेन सप्तमीयुतवासरे ॥
अनन्तधुक्करेणेदं लिखितं भाष्यमुत्तमम् ।
क्रमलक्षणबोधायोपलेखाया यथागतम् ।*
श्रीवेदपुरुषार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्रीवासुदेव ॥

* The concluding portion of the Satara manuscript is as follows :— इदानीं क्रमत्रयस्य क्तं प्रकृत्या तस्य कालमाह— क्रममिममुभयागीतं उप समीपे सदृशीं विशेषान् । संहिता इत्यर्थः । ते लेख्यन्ते गणयन्ते यस्मिन् ता लेखयति गणयति कृत्स्नशो निरूपयति । इत्युपलेखोपलेखशास्त्रम् । तथा च स्वरसंज्ञाविशेषाः स्वरा यः पूर्वमुक्ताः । ततः त्रिक्रमचतुःक्रमे विशेषाः । ततः एकपदाद्विपदाद्याः । ततः परिगृह्याद्याः । ततः पत्वणत्वाद्याः । ततो विसर्गान्तपदानां विशेषाः । ततः पदान्तस्येति आद्यन्तयोः संधिविशेषाः । ततः स्वरविधयः । ततः कम्पविशेषाः । इत्येवं सदृशा सदृशा विधयः । तस्मादिदमुपलेखाशास्त्रमिति । शास्त्रान्ते बृहदाचार्यं नमस्करोमि नमः शौनकाय नमः शौनकाय ॥ माटे इत्युपनामककेशवभट्टेन लिखितम् । स्वार्थं परार्थं च ॥

